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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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30 August 1984

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

'DEFENSE ATTACHE' ARTICLE ON KAL INCIDENT REPRINTED

[Editorial Report] Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 27, 29 June-5 July 1984 publishes on pages 10-11 a 2,000-word article from London DEFENSE ATTACHE by P. K. Mann under the headline "A Reevaluation of the Sakhalin Incident." The article alleges that the South Korean airliner of KAL Flight 007, shot down by the Soviet Air Defense Forces over the Sea of Japan on 1 September 1983, was in fact involved in an espionage operation involving a U.S. Air Force RC-135, a Ferret-D satellite, and the space shuttle Discovery. The article is followed by a note "From the Editors" citing A. Brown, editor of the journal MICROWAVE SYSTEMS NEWS, to the effect that the U.S. Navy secretly recovered the KAL-007 flight recorder from the Sea of Japan and refused a South Korean request to turn it over.

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INTERNATIONAL

LAW OF SEA SPECIALISTS ASSAIL U.S. ATTITUDE

Association Declaration

Moscow VODNYY TRANSPORT in Russian 31 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by A. L. Kolodkin, chairman of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law, doctor of legal sciences, and M. Ye. Volosov, chief association secretary, candidate of legal sciences: "Statement of Executive Committee of Soviet Association of Maritime Law"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law would like to draw attention to the illegal actions of the United States in the World Ocean.

In violation of the practice that has developed in international law, the U.S. administration, carrying out an aggressive militaristic course, is creating arbitrary actions on the international maritime and air communication routes.

The United States is unceremoniously appropriating for itself the right to establish in the sea spaces and in the air regions above them, for example, in the Persian Gulf, a procedure for allowing the passage of foreign merchant ships and the overflights of aircraft, acting as though those waters and that air space are under U.S. jurisdiction. The illegal actions with respect to foreign merchant ships were carried out by the United States in the vast sea areas in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea and in other areas of the World Ocean.

American military vessels are putting obstacles in the way of foreign merchant ships, stopping them en route, requiring them to give information about the ports of departure and ports of call and about the cargo on board, and resorting to other acts of lawlessness and arbitrariness. U.S. military aircraft make dangerous flights over ships of other countries in the open sea. The United States crudely violates the 1958 Geneva Convention concerning the open sea, of which the United States is itself a participant, and it ignores the 1982 United Nations Convention on maritime law, which was signed by 134 countries.

Universal censure throughout the world was evoked by the mining of the seaports in Nicaragua and the approach routes to them, which mining was carried out by the United States and its hirelings. The blockade of the ports or shores of a

country, as this was qualified by the 24th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in the resolution that it adopted, is an act of aggression, and "no considerations of any nature, . . . whether it be a political, economic, military, or other nature, can serve as justification for aggression." By resorting to the mining, the United States directly violated also the 1907 Hague Conventions concerning the laws and customs of warfare, which unambiguously ban, even during wartime, the installation of mines at the enemy's shores and ports with the purpose of disrupting commercial navigation. The United Nations International Court established that the United States had to cease immediately any actions that blockaded the Nicaraguan ports, including the installation of mines.

The U.S. action, regardless of how the attempt is made in Washington to justify it, is incompatible with international maritime law, and in the crudest manner violates one of its fundamental principles -- the principle of the freedom of navigation.

Flouting the United Nations Charter, and crudely rejecting the international norms, the United States is attempting to force its procedures on other countries, and is unceremoniously interfering in their internal affairs. Washington resorts to the most criminal means and methods, up to and including state terrorism.

The United States wants to sow discord in questions of the use of sea spaces, and to destroy the principles of mutually advantageous cooperation in this vitally important area of human activity. The United States has not only refused to sign the United Nations Convention on maritime law, but also, by its actions, is undermining that convention, pandering to the seizure by American monopolies of the resources in the international region of the ocean floor, which were declared by the convention to be the "common heritage of mankind."

The United States also stated a completely negative position with respect to the proposal by the socialist countries to come to an agreement concerning a number of specific measures pertaining to the reciprocal limitation of the activity of the naval fleets, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, as well as the corresponding measures of confidence both as a whole, and as applicable to individual regions, whether they be the Indian, Atlantic, or Pacific oceans, the Mediterranean Sea, or the Persian Gulf.

For a number of years the United States has hindered the convoking of a United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean, which was supposed to have consolidated in treaty form the well-known United Nations declaration concerning the establishment of the Indian Ocean to be a peace zone, which would have contributed to improving the situation in that vast body of water, which is crossed by very important international communication lines.

The executive committee of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law censures the illegal course being carried out by Washington and expresses the hope that public opinion and the jurists specializing in international law will unite their efforts and act decisively against the illegal actions of the U.S. administration, in order to promote that administration's guaranteeing of the observance of the generally accepted principles and norms of international law.

Commentary: "Law of Sea Year"

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by V. Kotlyar, candidate of legal sciences, member of Executive Committee of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law, under rubric "Apropos Comments": "Washington Pharisees"]

[Text] The U.S. Congress passed a resolution proclaiming "World Ocean Year" from 1 July 1984 through 1 July 1985. Speaking in this regard, U.S. President R. Reagan emphasized, in particular, the importance that the World Ocean has for the United States as a source of food and transportation communication routes, and a source of petroleum and other mineral resources, and emphasized the military importance of the ocean, etc. With complete justification he remarked that "the increase in our use of the ocean's reserves requires us to take steps for the effective protection of those resources." R. Reagan called upon the Americans to increase their responsibility for the use of the ocean's resources, reminding them of the need for vigilance and the effort to preserve the ocean for the sake of the future generations.

It would seem that that is an intelligent statement by a responsible state figure who is concerned about the future. But the fact of the matter is that, in practice, the policy of the Reagan administration with respect to the World Ocean does not have anything in common with concern for future generations. Washington with respect to the World Ocean also is carrying out that same old familiar line, attempting to ignore international treaties, to carry out a policy of imperial diktat, and, on a unilateral basis, to seize control over the sources of raw materials in the interests of the transnational monopolies controlled by the United States, taking no consideration of the interests not only of the developing or socialist countries, but also of their own allies. As was indicated in a recent statement by the Soviet Association of Maritime Law, the United States is attempting to sow discord in the questions of the use of the ocean spaces, and to destroy the foundations of mutually advantageous cooperation in that important area.

In the list of the priority goals in the use of the World Ocean that were mentioned in R. Reagan's statement, the military aspect of the situation was hypocritically hidden in one of the last places, somewhere between transportation routes and a recreational spot. Actually, however, the use of the World Ocean for aggressive military purposes determines the entire policy of the United States in this area.

It is not accidental that R. Reagan did not say a single word in his statement about the reinforcement of peace in the World Ocean. The present administration, as is generally known, feels that, of all types of armed forces, the naval fleet is probably most suitable as a "global deterrent" and for "protecting America's vital interests" in the most varied parts of the world. We might recall that it was precisely the U.S. president who, at one time, on board the battleship New Jersey, discussed the attempt by the United States "to gain access to all the oceans of the world, to control the air space over them, their surface, and their depths." It was precisely under the Republican administration that it was planned to increase the size of the U.S. Navy to 600 combat vessels and to achieve superiority over the USSR Navy.

For this same reason R. Reagan in his statement does not mention a single word about the appeal of the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, which received the support of the USSR, to begin negotiations concerning the limitation of naval activity, concerning the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, and concerning the dissemination of measures of trust to the vast open areas of the seas and oceans, especially to those areas that are crossed by the liveliest maritime routes or where the possibility that a conflict may arise is the greatest.

There is a frankly pharisaical tone to the present judgments expressed by Washington concerning the "effective protection of the ocean's resources." On the banks of the Potomac there has been no abatement of the commotion concerning the appointment to the position of head of the National Administration for Problems of the Ocean and the Atmosphere of A. Burford -- the very same A. Burford who was previously forced to resign from her position as director of the Environmental Protection Agency inasmuch as it was ascertained that she had attempted to gloss over the complete indifference on the part of the American monopolies to the questions of protecting the environment. And now she has been given the responsibility of "effectively protecting the ocean's resources"!

But the thing that is most surprising is the fact that the call for an increase in the responsibility for the use of the ocean's resources, the call for efforts to protect the ocean for future generations, is being sounded by the very same administration that applied a large amount of efforts to torpedoing the United Nations Convention on maritime law. That convention, we might recall, was worked out over a period of ten years by more than 160 countries of the world, which were attempting precisely to create a document that would preserve the World Ocean for future generations. The United States spoke out against the convention, which today has been signed by 134 countries, and President Reagan has called upon the monopolies of the western countries to create a separate system for exploiting the resources of the deep areas of the ocean floor, a system which would be "free of unnecessary political and economic limitations," that is, would open up for the transnational corporations access to the uncontrolled extraction of the resources.

One could construct various conjectures about why the United States, all of a sudden, has decided at precisely this time to proclaim "World Ocean Year." But, apparently, one of the chief reasons is the attempt by Washington to work itself somehow out of that isolation in the questions of the use of the World Ocean to which the United States was brought by R. Reagan's policy. In August, in Geneva, the latest session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Agency for the Ocean Floor and the International Tribunal for Maritime Law will be opening. That is the agency which is supposed to prepare the implementation of the convention. Realizing that that session will again draw the attention of the world's public to the imperial policy of the United States in matters of maritime law, the White House is thus making an attempt to maneuver.

R. Reagan's statement ends "with an appeal to all Americans to mark World Ocean Year by the appropriate measures." It would not be a bad idea if the Washington administration itself served as an example in this regard by rejecting, as a start, any efforts to sabotage the efforts of the international community of states for purposes of establishing a uniform condition of law and order on the seas, for purposes of preserving the World Ocean for future generations.

INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN RADIO-TV 'PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR' AGAINST USSR ASSAILED

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by A. Kasyuk, candidate of philological sciences: "Fourth Front"]

[Text] The life of the peoples today is linked with information in many ways. On the average, people spend almost one-fourth of their waking time under the influence of the mass communications media. To a considerable degree, our concept of what the world is and what it will finally be, our life style and our world view are determined by this flow of information.

Radio and television are the main carriers and transmitters of particularly pressing public information. These mass communications media play an extremely important role in the ever more intense ideological struggle. Their vigorous technical development led to the fact that the flow of information is expanding from year to year and to the fact that more and more segments of the population are being drawn into the ideological realm of the opposition of two world systems. The mass communications media made it possible for politicians and statesmen to turn directly to the broad masses and to establish direct contact with them. For what purpose is another matter.

In the opinion of Western experts on psychological warfare, it is possible with the help of radio and television to have the most effective propaganda among the citizens of socialist countries of the capitalist way of life and to poison their minds with anti-communism. To designate the "war in the atmosphere," bourgeois strategists introduced the special term "fourth front," which mainly refers to radio and television.

The striving of our class enemies to avoid a comparison of the fundamental values of socialism and capitalism and to replace the struggle of ideas with psychological warfare that is incompatible with normal relations between countries is the result of the extreme intellectual poverty of imperialism, the crisis in its ideology and morality and the fact that it is unable to present ideas capable of inspiring nations.

In comparison with the imperialist press, which is hindered in its spread by the borders of the socialist states, radio and television have practically limitless opportunities to influence the population over wide areas of the continent.

In the opinion of imperialist strategists, radio and television ought to become the most important channel for the dissemination of counterrevolutionary ideas hostile to socialism"... through the use of psychologically subtle means in communist states.... The people in communist states will thus become conscious and unconscious carriers of Western ideas."

At the time of the conclusion of agreements between the socialist states and the FRG, and also in connection with the All-European Conference on Security in Helsinki, the demand "freedom of the exchange of information" became the main element in the slogan put forth by the NATO member countries on "freedom of the exchange of people, ideas and information." In one form or another, all communiqués of NATO sessions since 1970 contain similar appeals.

The adherents of the slogan "freedom of the exchange of people, ideas and information" do not hide the fact that their efforts are directed against socialist states, which supposedly need and at the same time fear information from the West, whereas in capitalist countries any information can be spread "freely and uncontrolled."

What is the true situation? In reality, the mass communications media are always class media. About 42,000 radio and 25,000 television transmitters located on the territory of the nonsocialist countries are the property of imperialists or are paid for, directed and guided by them. On the territory of the FRG, there are a total of about 5,000 military and civilian radio and television stations, of which 326 radio and television stations are located inside a 50-km strip along the national border with socialist countries.

With the help of thousands of kilowatts of transmitted radio waves, thousands of editors, announcers, musicians, technicians, etc., the ideologists of warfare in the atmosphere are distorting the policies of socialism and masking the aggressiveness of imperialism. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the common elements in this entire system of multiple forms and methods organized on a global scale. It is expressed in more or less open or concealed but always aggressive forms of psychological warfare against all enemies of imperialism and especially against the community of socialist states and the policies of the communist and worker parties.

At the present time, the imperialists of the FRG are trying to adapt to the new conditions of the ideological struggle. In this connection, a special role is assigned to disinformation as one of the methods of psychological warfare. In an article by the West German ideologist Osterode "Disinformation As a Weapon," which appeared in the journal ALTE KAMERADEN, it states: "The present art of effective disinformation involves... the selection of the necessary information, the proper timing, the appropriate communications medium and also a subject to be acted upon with the purpose of quietly influencing public opinion and, if possible, of directing it in the necessary channel without involving other media."

Music serves as the background for disinformation, lies and other forms of diversion carried out with the aid of radio and television. Vice Admiral Ruge, former inspector of the West German Naval Forces, described the task of music

as a means of psychological warfare in the following manner: "Tear down everything that is good in the country of your enemy.... Influence the morale of the soldiers with the help of the appropriate music and songs."

In the arsenal of the means of ideological diversion, the work and music interact closely and complement one another. This is how one French expert in the area of psychological warfare expressed himself: "Music is the universal all-encompassing means.... It is easy to utilize this diversionary maneuver with the help of a few radio stations broadcasting to the communist world.... Whenever there is room in the communist consciousness for rock 'n' roll or calypso, this leads to the expulsion of other things and these things are always included under the concept of ideology."

Indeed, music, harmony, dissonance and rhythm evoke a certain mood. And it is possible to have a further influence on that mood with the aid of specially selected musical productions, so as to attract to the receiver the listener who is not entirely critical in his thinking and get him to listen to the broadcast. For this purpose, the entertainment industry in the FRG, along with hundreds of entertaining broadcasts, annually finances the creation of about 5,000 titles of dance productions and it purchases about 2,000 titles in other capitalist countries.

Imperialists in the FRG consider radio to be "the most powerful means of mass communication." In addition, P. Linebarger, an American expert on psychological warfare, points out that "on a per-capita basis, there is no doubt that radio is the least expensive medium."

Particularly active in subversive propaganda against Warsaw Pact countries are the radio and television stations of the FRG and West Berlin as well as the U.S. radio stations located on FRG territory.

The following radio stations in the FRG and West Berlin are in the service of the authorities of "psychological warfare":

"Deutsche Welle," which specializes in ideological diversion against the USSR and other socialist countries;

"Deutschlandfunk," the broadcasts of which are directly mainly against the GDR;

the radio stations of the Lands, such as "Radio Hessen" (Kassel), "Bavarian Radio" (Munich), "Southwest Radio" (Cologne), "North German Radio" (Hamburg);

"Free Berlin" and others.

The radio station "Deutsche Welle" occupies one of the leading positions in the strategy of imperialism's "war in the atmosphere." Beginning 2 November 1974, a new order of broadcasts was introduced at the station and broadcasting was expanded to as many as 82 hours daily in 33 languages.

With the aid of one "Russian Program" alone, the radio station "Deutsche Welle" is carrying on an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign of instigation, as though nothing had changed since the time of the "cold war."

It is not surprising that the broadcasts of the radio station "Deutsche Welle" are characterized by a particularly anti-Soviet orientation. For until recently the 1,600 employees of the radio station were led by a certain Walter Steigner, who had gone through Goebbel's propaganda school. During the years of World War II, he served in the 501st Fascist Propaganda Company, which was part of the 18th Army that operated near Leningrad.

The radio station "Deutschlandfunk" is essentially performing all its work in ideological diversion against the GDR and its army. It is responsible for more than 40 percent of all broadcasts of West German and West Berlin radio stations that are directed against the GDR.

A special position among the broadcasts against the GDR, and one that is growing all of the time is occupied by the broadcasts of a military or political nature. Almost every fourth broadcast of this radio station is directed against the military policies of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the National People's Army of the GDR. Measures to ensure the security of the GDR and other Warsaw Pact countries are distorted and they oppose a lessening of international tension. Thus, in one of the broadcasts, it was said: "So, only the West is supposed to disarm. They are arming themselves in the East." Although the entire world knows thereby that it is precisely the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community that are presenting all of the new constructive proposals for arms reduction.

Besides the 24-hour program in German, the radio station "Deutschlandfunk" broadcasts the so-called "Europrogram" in 13 foreign languages, which is created by a special Eastern editorship and has as its goal ideological diversion against socialist countries.

The radio station "Free Berlin" carried out, on the one hand, an ideological cultivation of the population of West Berlin with the purpose of "strengthening the ties between West Berlin and the FRG," and, on the other hand, it is an instrument of ideological diversion against the citizens of the GDR. In an interview given to a correspondent of the radio station "Deutsche Welle," the director of "Radio Free Berlin" declared: "We must think about listeners in the GDR. 'Radio Free Berlin' is also intended for the population of the GDR." In what sense the gentlemen from the so-called "Free Berlin" are "thinking" about the citizens of the GDR was revealed in one of the broadcasts: "It is not too early to think about how that... system... extending from Travemuende to the Bavarian Forest should one day be overcome."

A special role in the anticommunist diversion is assigned to the U.S. radio stations "Free Europe," "Liberty" and RIAS [Radio in the American Sector], established on the territory of the FRG and West Berlin. They are an organic outgrowth of the "cold war."

Radio "Free Europe" broadcasts with the aid of 26 short- and medium wave transmitters to the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Radio "Liberty" concentrates its efforts, as DIE WELT acknowledged, on "utilizing all means of psychological warfare in all areas to overthrow the political regime in the USSR." Both radio stations (partially combined administratively since 1975) are financed by the U.S. Government. Their budget for the current fiscal year amounted to \$114 million.

These centers of subversion were created by the CIA at the height of the "cold war" in the late 1940's and early 1950's, when the United States and its allies adopted the infamous doctrine of a "rollback of communism" and feverishly began to put together a system of military blocs directed against the socialist countries. Their plans also included the creation of the notorious "fifth columns" of traitors within the socialist states, who, at the opportune moment and on a signal from the West, could start an uprising and hit these states from the rear.

The activity of the radio centers is by no means limited to radio broadcasts. As the Austrian newspaper VOLKSSTIMME reported, among the 9 sectors and 33 departments in the organization of the radio station "Liberty," there are, for example, the following: the "special projects" department that is involved in sending subversive literature into the USSR; other departments try to enlist foreign tourists on their way to the USSR; several departments are involved in shadowing Soviet citizens who happen to be abroad; and there are departments that send their own agents into the USSR to carry out espionage and diversion.

In the statement of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, which was made concerning the hostile activities of the American radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe," it was noted that these subversive centers "are spreading slanderous fabrications about the domestic and external policies of the USSR, are trying to sow national discord and enmity, and are openly involved in instigation."

The statement goes on to say that the activities of the radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe," generously financed and supported by the U.S. Government, are essentially a long-term and never-ending provocation against the peoples of the USSR and other socialist countries.

The U.S. radio station RIAS in West Berlin has made it its goal to influence the population of the GDR with the help of specially developed ideological diversionary programs. The radio station is officially under the U.S. State Department. RIAS sends two programs using 10 ultrashort-, medium- and long-wave transmitters. Specially beamed political programs comprise 40 to 50 percent. The radio station RIAS played a particularly reactionary role in the counterrevolutionary putsch in the GDR on 17 June 1953. At the present time, a constantly larger part of the radio station's budget is covered through FRG funds.

West German television plays a significant role in the ideological diversion against socialist countries, in particular against the GDR. Its goal is to defile the socialist system, the unity of the communist parties and peoples and the peaceful policies of the socialist countries.

With the goal of increasing ideological diversion through the aid of television, in the FRG they are studying the possibility of using as television transmitters aircraft flying at an altitude of 20 km with television equipment. These experiments are a step toward the use of artificial satellites for direct transmission of television programs to the Warsaw Pact countries for purposes of psychological warfare. It is not difficult to understand the motives behind

such research--the imperialists would like to unceremoniously intrude on other television screens with their rotten ideological goods, without asking the owners, just as they are now doing in the area of radio.

Imperialists as a whole and West German imperialism in particular have increased their efforts to use mass communications media (especially radio and television) to carry out specific and coordinated ideological diversion of an even more subtle nature and thus to intensify intervention in the internal affairs of socialist states. The density of the network of FRG radio and television stations along the border with socialist countries is twice what it is on the rest of its territory. The power of these stations is increasing constantly.

In adapting to the new situation, the organizers of psychological warfare are gradually starting to shift from methods of "frontal persuasion" to the technique of "unobtrusive persuasion." In carrying out psychological warfare against the USSR and other socialist countries, imperialist ideologists are trying to shield themselves with the slogan "freedom of information." "free flow of information," etc. How and where the information freely flows was shown at an international seminar in Finland with the example of television: "In the socialist countries, original Western television broadcasts amount to 10 percent of the entire program, whereas at the same time in the West, broadcasts from socialist countries account for only 2 percent."

The facts indicate that the imperialists have no intention of letting go of the poisoned weapon. They are continuing and even increasing the activity of their radio and television centers, trying to revive the climate of the "cold war" period.

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INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET MILITARY POWER, ANTIWAR MOVEMENT MAIN HOPES FOR PEACE

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[Text] The peoples of Europe have been living in peace for almost 40 years--longer than at any time in contemporary history. "This has become possible thanks to the consistently peace-loving policy of the countries of the socialist commonwealth, the efforts of the peace-loving forces of the continent, and also to the realistic position of sober-minded politicians in the West," Yu. V. Andropov observed in his Statement of 24 November 1983.¹ The preservation of peace and the prevention of the threat of a world nuclear missile conflict continues to be the central problem facing humanity. A further increase in the means of mass destruction and, above all, in nuclear weapons contains the danger of a global catastrophe. This is why under present conditions the struggle of the peoples against the threat of nuclear war takes on especial importance. In the 28 September 1983 Statement by Yu. V. Andropov it was emphasized: "Humanity has not lost and cannot lose its reason. This is in especially forceful evidence in the breadth of the anti-missile and anti-war movement which has developed on the European and on other continents--a movement which has the participation of people with different social, political, and religious associations."²

In the history of humanity there have been quite a few devastating wars which

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have brought the peoples incalculable calamities. As the Swiss Jean-Jacques Bebel has calculated, over a period of 5,500 years on our earth there occurred almost 15,000 wars. Half of them raged in Europe. In the 17th century wars carried off 3.3 million human lives here, in the 18th century—5.2 million, in the 19th century—5.5 million, and in the first half of our century they have already carried off more than 60 million human lives. However, no matter how terrible these staggering military events were, they never before posed the threat of the destruction of the whole of human civilization and of humanity itself, of all life on earth. It is the appearance of nuclear weapons, and then of other lethal types of weapons which for the first time in the history of humanity has given rise to a danger of this kind which is borne by imperialism, and has created a threat not on a local scale, but on a universal human scale."³

Soviet social science has always attributed great importance to a study of the struggle of the working class and of all democratic forces for the peace and security of the people. In recent years alone a number of basic studies have been published in which the problems of war and peace and of mass anti-war movements are the central concern.⁴

With the appearance on the historical arena of the working class and of the international workers' movement the problem of its attitude toward war occupied an important place in its ideological and theoretical arsenal. As early as the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" K. Marx and F. Engels showed that military conflicts increase as a result of exploitation and class oppression. Peace was one of the most important demands of the European socialist movement in the 19th century. Already in the "Founding Manifesto of the International Association of Workers" which was written by K. Marx in 1864 the task of the struggle for peace was posed as a part of the "general struggle for a liberation of the working class."⁵ It was K. Marx who pointed out that an alliance of the workers of all countries would in the final analysis eradicate all kinds of wars. He wrote that in the new society the "international principle...will be peace, for every people will have one and the same ruler—labor!"⁶ Marxism-Leninism clearly defined its position with respect to just and unjust wars. The Congresses of the II International, especially the Stuttgart Congress of 1907 and the Basel Congress of 1912, warned of the growing danger of a world war which was being engendered by imperialism and called upon the proletariat not to allow it to happen. But it was not possible to prevent World War I; the II International collapsed, defeated by nationalism and chauvinism. Only the Bolshevik Party in Russia and individual Marxist parties and groups in other countries defended internationalist positions. The Bolshevik Party advanced and implemented the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil and revolutionary war.

During the historic days of October 1917 Lenin's Peace Decree was addressed not only to governments, but also directly to the peoples who had been drawn into the world war. "Everywhere governments and peoples," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "disagree with one another, and for this reason we have to help the peoples to intervene in the issues of peace and war. We, of course, will in every way stand by our entire peace program without annexations and contribu-

tions."⁷

The Soviet Union became a powerful factor for peace and a bulwark of the anti-war movement of the working class and of all of the democratic forces of the capitalist countries. The anti-war movement of the 1930s embraced wide circles. In their activities the communists made great efforts to establish unity of action with all of the opponents of war. The International Peace Congress in Amsterdam in 1936 was an important landmark in their joint anti-war struggle. With Hitler Germany making preparations, with the help of international imperialism, for an aggressive war, the Communist International called for the creation of a united workers' and broad Popular Front for a struggle against fascism and the threat of war.⁸

But despite the persistent struggle of the Soviet Union against the growing threat of war, and despite the struggle of the democratic, progressive, and anti-fascist forces in many countries in the 1920s and 1930s, the correlation of forces on the international arena did not permit the prevention of World War II which had been prepared by the imperialist powers and unleashed in 1939 by German fascism. The activities of communists created the preconditions for turning this war into a just, anti-fascist and liberation war, for creating an anti-Hitler coalition, and for creating a broad movement of Resistance to Fascism.

The struggle of the peoples whose basic weight was borne by the Soviet people made it possible to smash German fascism and its satellites and to defeat Japanese militarism.

The formation of the world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism, and the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism fundamentally changed the correlation of forces in the international arena. Imperialism which had already lost its monopoly position after the Great October Socialist Revolution suffered severe damage and its sphere of influence was sharply curtailed. However, it by no means had lost its aggressiveness, and it did not part with its hopes for the restoration of its world dominion. But now the forces of imperialism were compelled to reckon with an ever increasing opposition to their policies from the socialist countries, the young developing states, the international workers' movement, and the growing movement for peace. The broad popular masses which had resolutely opposed the aggressive imperialist policy of the "Cold War" had with the years acquired a large amount of experience in defending peace and in struggling against the arms race and the expansionist adventures of imperialism, and against attempts by international aggressive circles to unleash a new world war.

Although compared to the eve of World War II, the role and effectiveness of mass anti-war actions had now on the whole grown immeasurably, their development in the individual countries and also on an international scale was not an even one and was characterized by ebbs and flows. In each country this development had its own characteristic general and specific features. However, throughout all of post-war history its scope grew from decade to decade, and its political effectiveness became stronger.⁹ In the early 1950s the world witnessed the first unprecedentedly powerful wave of the peace

movement when around 500 million people placed their signatures under the Stockholm Appeal for a prohibition against atomic weapons.

The precondition for the scope of this movement was the fact that in 1949 the United States' monopoly over atomic weapons was eliminated. The fact that the peace-loving Soviet state had become a nuclear power signified the collapse of the hopes of American imperialism to assert its world dominion and to carry out aggressive actions against the socialist states and the peoples of colonial and dependent countries with impunity. In his book "War or Peace" John F. Dulles wrote: "Such rapid mastery by Soviet production of the atomic bomb is truly a gigantic success for the Soviet state, and the end of the United States' monopoly in this field will have so far-reaching an influence as is now difficult to foretell.... By putting an end to our monopoly the Soviet Union has radically changed the strategic situation in its own favor. The ability of the United States to drop atomic bombs on Russia has been substantially neutralized by the latter's ability to drop atomic bombs on the United States and on Western Europe."¹⁰

The change in the correlation of forces between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO gave rise to a profound crisis in the foreign policy of the imperialist powers which is a component part of the general crisis of capitalism.

In the middle 1950s, on the basis of a profound analysis of the world historical process, the conclusion was drawn by the CPSU that there was no fatal inevitability of a world war and that it was possible to prevent it as a result of a joint active struggle for peace by the USSR and the other socialist countries, the young states of Asia and Africa which had obtained their independence, the international working class which by virtue of its social nature is a resolute opponent of unjust and predatory wars, and also by the world peace movement of the peoples.

However, the policy of the "Cold War" and of inciting international tensions which was conducted by the United States and the other imperialist powers continues. Its basis was the preservation of the United States' special military strategic position in the world which was characterized by the relative invulnerability of the North American continent. In the era of propeller-driven airplanes which had a radius of action of up to 2000 kilometers the United States was relatively inaccessible to an air attack from territories located outside of the American continent, while naval operations against the territory of the United States would have demanded an enormous superiority on the waters adjoining North America. On the other hand, possessing as it did after World War II hundreds of military bases in all parts of the world, the United States was able without especial risk to its own security to threaten any state in the world with an attack by its air or naval forces or some combination of them. Speaking in the United States Senate on 13 June 1957, the then Commander-in-Chief of NATO forces, the American General L. Norstad, stated that "The West can with relative impunity undertake an atomic air attack on the USSR from a perimeter of 360 degrees from its more than 250 NATO bases.... It would be impossible for the Soviets

to destroy all of these bases. Even if they possessed 50 or 100 percent of the striking power of the Western alliance, the Russians would nevertheless be destroyed. The West must have and does have the possibility of completely destroying the Russians. This is absolutely essential."¹¹

This military strategic position of the United States in combination with its highly developed heavy and military industry was the basis for the general policy of American imperialism which was aimed at the establishment of world dominion, and of its attempts to dictate its will to all of the other countries of the world which rested on a policy of "from a position of strength," brinkmanship, and the "containment" of communism.

The correlation of strategic military forces in the world began to rapidly and radically change at the end of the 1950s. Scientific and technological progress in the Soviet Union and major achievements in the field of the creation and perfection of missile engines made it possible for the USSR to carry out in 1957 the first launching of an intercontinental, multi-stage ballistic missile which was capable of reaching any area of the earth. The development of missile technology which from that time on obtained a substantial scope introduced a fundamental change in the strategic military correlation of forces in the world and affected above all the position of the United States. Its territory proved to be vulnerable to intercontinental ballistic missiles equipped with nuclear weapons. The then United States Secretary of Defense N. Macelroy was compelled to admit in 1959 that the USSR's intercontinental ballistic missiles "can without any doubt cause enormous damage to the United States, since at the present time there are no means of preventing their penetration of the United States."¹² An end had been put to the exceptional position of the United States in the world and to the relative military invulnerability of its territory, since any part of it could now be reached by intercontinental missiles. Professor I. Rabi of Columbia University wrote the following about this: "We stand before the problem of living on this planet together or of not living at all. One can foresee the end of our national existence if we do not solve this problem."¹³

The new correlation of military power between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries was characterized, on the one hand, by the growth of the defensive might of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, and, on the other, by the conversion by the United States, with the agreement of its allies, of Western Europe into a base for the siting of American forward and medium-range weapons (which made it a kind of hostage to the United States in the event of a global military confrontation with the socialist world). This kind of development of the armed forces of the opposing sides led to the attainment in the early 1970s of an approximate strategic military equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO.

The elimination of the American nuclear weapons monopoly, and then the elimination of the invulnerability of the United States to inescapable retribution have been the decisive factors in preventing a nuclear war throughout the entire postwar period. The same role is being played by the strategic mili-

tary equilibrium which has been achieved and whose maintenance is restraining the intentions of the most aggressive imperialist circles of unleashing a world war. However, the Soviet conception of maintaining a military equilibrium organically contains within itself a struggle to lower its level, to reduce the stocks of the weapons of mass destruction which have been built up, and to limit and halt the arms race right up to the point of universal and complete disarmament.

Years were required before the most sober-minded representatives of the ruling circles of the United States and the other NATO countries came to the idea that given the approximate equality of power between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO, the effective ensuring of the security of their countries lies in the conclusion of international agreements on nuclear disarmament and the limitation of strategic delivery systems, in the conclusion of other agreements based on the equal security of the sides, and on a search through negotiations for solutions to conflict situations in various areas of the world.

A period of detente and of negotiations began in international relations; however, the search for mutually acceptable solutions was constantly made difficult by the opposition of militarist, extreme right-wing conservative circles in the United States and other NATO states which during all of this time did not give up their attempts to revise the equilibrium which had developed in their favor, and to achieve a strategic military superiority under the USSR and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact both on a global scale and on a regional level.

At the beginning of the 1980s a new strengthening of the aggressiveness of imperialism and, first of all, of the ruling circles of the United States led to a sharp increase in the danger of war. The Reagan Administration adopted a course attempting through military power, and without regard to the interests of other countries and peoples, to achieve a dominating position for the United States in the world. Making use of all kinds of far-fetched pretexts, the American military presence was extended thousands of kilometers from the territory of the United States. Bases were created for direct intervention with the help of armed forces into the affairs of other states and for the use of American arms against any country which rejects Washington's dictates. As a result, tensions have increased in many areas of the world—in Europe, Asia, Africa, in the Near East, and in Central America. The level of scientific and technological development which has been reached has given a reality to the threat of turning not only the entire earth but also outer space into a theater of military operations.

The threat of war issues constantly from capitalism. It is engendered by the socio-class nature of this social system which is based on class oppression and exploitation. V. I. Lenin emphasized that the bourgeoisie cannot ensure its dominion without basing itself on military power. "Contemporary militarism," he wrote in the early 20th century, "is a 'vital sign' of capitalism: as the military power which is used by capitalist states in their foreign clashes...and as a weapon which serves in the hand of the ruling classes to

suppress all kinds (economic and political) of movements of the proletariat."¹⁴ Characterizing the essence of capitalism, V. I. Lenin observed that war for it is a "terribly profitable thing," and its "direct and inevitable product."¹⁵

The rises and falls of the anti-war movements are to a large extent connected with the strengthening or relative weakening of the aggressiveness of imperialism at the various stages of its development. Thus, the upsurge in the anti-war movement between the two world wars was explained by the threat to peace which came from German fascism. Each of the postwar stages of the movement for peace was connected with the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and, first of all, of American imperialism: the war in Korea, the aggression against Vietnam, the active armed intervention by the United States in Near Eastern affairs, its actions directed against the independence and social progress of liberated countries, the organization of subversive actions against Cuba, Afghanistan, and Poland, the production of American neutron bombs, the attack of Grenada, and the placing of American missiles in Western Europe.

The truly unprecedented upsurge in the anti-war movement in the 1980s provides every reason for speaking about a qualitatively new stage of its history. The growth of the political activeness of millions of people in their joint struggle for the preservation of peace is being influenced by a large and diverse complex of both objective and subjective conditions.

The popular masses of the capitalist countries of the West have begun to understand with an unprecedented clarity that inaction is fatal, and that it is necessary to compel the governments of their countries to reject an unrestrained arms race and to undertake to conclude agreements with the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries which would be based on the principle of equal security and would lead to a lowering of the levels of the nuclear missile weapons of the opposing sides.

The new psychology of the masses has been forming in recent times above all under the influence of the circumstance that such a large quantity of thermonuclear weapons of such destructive force has been accumulated in the world that there exists a real threat of the destruction of all of world civilization and of humanity itself. This anxiety-provoking objective truth has been occupying an ever larger place in the consciousness of millions of people who adhere to the most diverse political and ideological views, and has been uniting them in a mass movement for disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, and for the strengthening of security and of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The placing which began in November 1983 of new American "Pershing-II" medium-range missiles and cruise missiles on the territory of a number of Western European countries, above all the FRG, England, and Italy created a new situation. The peoples of these states began to become aware of the fact that in the event of a nuclear conflict they were now threatened by inevitable destruction. Even the United States press acknowledges that "what is common for the anti-missile movements in the Western European countries

is...a sincere fear on the part of the Europeans of a nuclear war after which there would scarcely remain anything except ashes and radiation where today 350 million people live."¹⁶

However, it would be incorrect to explain the scope of the contemporary anti-war movement solely by a "sincere fear." A characteristic feature of this movement is the fact that its participants are beginning to understand their personal responsibility for the fate of the world. The mass anti-missile and anti-war movement is helping to rid people of their paralyzing fear and is awakening in them a will to action, the material preconditions for which have already come into being.

Another quite important aspect of the change in the psychology of the masses is the growing understanding by public opinion that the present level of nuclear missile weapons and, especially, a further rise in this level makes it impossible for anybody to look upon war as a method of achieving political ends by military means.

An ever increasing number of participants in the movement is becoming aware of the fact that the further development of new systems and types of weapons of mass destruction will lead to making it difficult if not altogether impossible to control them. Yu. V. Andropov has warned of the growing danger connected with the production of new systems of strategic weapons: "And we are not far from such types of these weapons which could radically overturn our ideas about strategic stability and about the very possibility of an effective limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons."¹⁷

All of this has been creating a new psychological climate in the entire world. The real threat of the destruction of world civilization and of humanity itself has been largely determining not only the dimensions but also the character of the anti-war movement in the 1980s.¹⁸

The consistent and principled line of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle for peace and for the security of peoples is an highly important factor of the anti-war movement. The danger of total war imperatively demands total resistance to it. "In the name of this," it is stated in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states which was adopted in Prague in January 1983, "the socialist countries whose love of peace is determined by the very nature of their social system place the whole of their international authority and of their political and economic potential on the scales of peace."¹⁹

In our era it is precisely socialism which has been acting as the most consistent defender of healthy principles in international relations, and as the defender of the interests of detente and peace, of each people, and of all of humanity. The realistic and peace-loving course of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the socialist commonwealth has found its expression in numerous peace initiatives and was again confirmed in the Declarations of Yu. V. Andropov of 28 September and 24 November 1983, in the replies to the newspaper PRAVDA on 25 January 1984, and in the summary document of the

meeting in Sofia of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact Participant States.

Hundreds of millions of people actively participate in determining and carrying out the foreign policy course of the socialist countries which is aimed at strengthening peace and security and at the development of international cooperation. In the declaration of the 800,000 participants in a demonstration in Moscow which took place in October 1983 it was emphasized: "We support the peace-loving course of our party and state which is directed toward curbing the arms race and toward disarmament. Our people's will for peace is expressed in the concrete peace initiatives of the Soviet Union which make possible the attainment of an honest agreement at the Geneva negotiations."²⁰

The struggle for peace in the socialist countries pours in a powerful current into the peaceful anti-war movement. Since the beginning of 1983 there have taken place throughout the entire Soviet Union more than 140,000 diverse anti-war actions with the participation of 160 million Soviet people. The Day of Trade Union Actions for Peace in 1983 was marked by numerous meetings and demonstrations in the USSR, Bulgaria, and other countries.²¹ In late October 1983 the socialist countries' peace fighters from Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary conducted a peace march in the Balkans.

Under the conditions when many official politicians of the capitalist countries and the far-flung network of bourgeois propaganda are attempting to inculcate in the peoples of the world the myths of the fatal inevitability of a future nuclear catastrophe it is especially important that the policies of the countries of the socialist commonwealth be based on the substantiated conclusion of the international communist movement that under present-day conditions it is not only necessary but it is also possible to prevent the threat of a wide-scale military catastrophe.²² As is stated in the 1982 Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact participant states, "The forces of peace are mightier than the forces of war. Everything depends upon their solidarity and upon the purposefulness of their actions."²³ One cannot proceed from the idea that mankind is doomed to destruction. "An end must and can be put to the arms race," it was emphasized in the 28 September 1983 Declaration of Yu. V. Andropov. "Mankind deserves a better fate than to live in a world torn by conflicts, struggling for breath under the burden of death-dealing weapons."²⁴

People, no matter where they may live on our planet, remember the period of the relaxation of international tensions well. The peoples continue to place great hopes upon the continuation and deepening of this process. Now also detente is connected, first of all, with the elimination of the nuclear threat, and this means with the possibility of solving the urgent problems which face humanity. The opponents of detente are not succeeding in burying the spirit of Helsinki. The coordinated decisions which were reached in 1983 at the Madrid Meeting, and the work of the Stockholm Conference on measures of trust have also been giving a serious impulse to the activities of the supporters of peace.

The governments and the parliaments and the leaderships of the political parties and trade unions of the capitalist countries are increasingly compelled to heed the mass anti-war movement which developed with a new force in the 1980s. Of course, the policies of the governments of the capitalist states and their attitudes toward the anti-war movement are far from being identical. A number of governments, for example, those of Finland, Sweden, and Greece, officially support the anti-war movements. Under pressure from domestic public opinion the parliaments of Denmark and Holland came out against the placing of new American missiles in their countries and in favor of a continuation of Soviet-American negotiations. In England, the FRG, Italy, the United States, and other capitalist countries a policy of cruel repressions is being conducted by the authorities against participants in the anti-war movement. In 1982 more than 4,000 people were arrested in connection with anti-war actions in the United States, and during the first half of 1983 alone more than 3,000 people were arrested. However, the ruling circles of the United States are no longer able to ignore the political importance of the mass actions for peace. In view of the scope of the anti-war movement and of its growing popularity among the most diverse strata of the population, the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST has written that "The anxiety has been arising among certain Western official representatives that this movement can become a political force sufficiently powerful to undermine the unity of NATO."²⁵ "If it is not put under control," it was noted in the above-mentioned article in the magazine NEWSWEEK, "this force threatens to turn NATO into a meaningless conception, and to place the deep and complex connections which unite America and the European countries on the brink of rupture."²⁶

The threat of an atomic catastrophe which has become global problem number one has led to the fact that the anti-war movement in our day has become truly worldwide; that is, it embraces practically all of the parts of our planet. In 1981 around 5 million people in the developed capitalist countries participated in actions against the threat of a new war, and in 1982 the number was 20 million people. During the "hot autumn" of 1983 alone more than 25 million people took part in Western Europe in anti-war demonstrations. Five million signatures of West German citizens were collected for the Krefeld Appeal against the placing of American nuclear missiles in the FRG. A demonstration was held by the Swedish supporters of peace for turning Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone. In the FRG, England, and Italy the blockading of American nuclear weapons bases was begun. In the United States new forces which had previously stood aloof from the struggle are joining the anti-war movement. The bourgeois press has admitted that the chief reason for the upsurge in the anti-war movement was dissatisfaction with the adventurist foreign policy of United States ruling circles which refused to ratify the Salt-II Treaty, sharply intensified anti-Soviet propaganda, blocked the holding of constructive negotiations with the USSR, and brought the conception of a "limited nuclear war" to the forefront.²⁷ Within a brief period of time—from the end of 1981 through the beginning of 1982—the number of Americans who placed the problem of the threat of a war in first place on their list of national problems increased fivefold.

Toward the end of 1982 around 60 percent of the votes in national referendums in the United States was given in support of a resolution to freeze nuclear arsenals—an unprecedented majority in the consideration in referendums of any of the country's domestic or foreign policy issues.²⁸

A large effect was produced in the country by the "California Initiative"—a collection of signatures for a petition to hold a referendum on freezing nuclear weapons—which was supported by approximately 70 anti-war organizations. In California it received around 600,000 signatures. The collection of signatures covered 47 states. There has been an increase in the mass nature of anti-war actions which are being participated in by public, trade union, youth, women's, and religious organizations. Hundreds of thousands of people participated in a demonstration under the slogan of "Jobs, Not Wars!" (Washington, May 1981), in an anti-war demonstration (New York, June 1982), and in the major anti-war action of 27 August 1983 in the United States capitol under the slogan of "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom!"

The anti-war movement of the 1980s has been increasingly going beyond the framework solely of temporary and limited campaigns on the specific problems of war and peace in individual countries, as was the case during the preceding decades. Of course, today also in each region and in the individual capitalist countries the anti-war struggle takes on diverse forms and is concentrated around specific problems. In the countries of Western Europe the present-day mass anti-war movement is opposed, above all, to the placing of new American missiles there, or is for the removal of those which are already there; in the countries of Northern Europe the movement is for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in that region; and in the United States it is for the freezing of nuclear weapons at their present level. The actions of the peoples of the countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa have specific forms of the struggle for peace. However, despite their many-faceted and diverse character, today's anti-war actions join in, as it were, the general stream of a genuinely worldwide movement for peace and disarmament and for the preservation of life on earth.

The fact that the ever increasing army of fighters for peace is being reinforced by the broad public of the developing countries has become a new token of the anti-war movement of the 1980s. More and more people are beginning to realize that the battlefield is not only in Europe. Quite recently the feeling existed in the developing countries that the problems of war and peace were not of the first order for them, that they concerned the developed states, or even just the great powers alone. But life has refuted this view and has shown that imperialism's policy of increasing tensions is of direct concern to all countries and all peoples.²⁹

The social structure and the social composition of the participants of the movement for peace have undergone an important change. But, as in the past, it is the working class that is in the front ranks of the fighters against the threat of a new war. The revolutionary workers' movement has always been in opposition to militarist policies and imperialist wars and has always stood for peace among peoples. Today the struggle is being joined by a

substantial section of those workers who are under the ideological influence of social democratic or bourgeois parties. Despite the political and ideological schism of the working class of the capitalist world, the different detachments of workers who bear the basic burden of the arms race are increasingly uniting in the common struggle for peace. "The brunt of war," it was already stated in a resolution of the Second Congress of the I International, "is borne chiefly by the working class; not only does war deprive it of its means of existence, but also compels it to spill its blood."³⁰

The most essential feature of the change in the social composition of the anti-war movement of our day is the extensive involvement in it of the representatives of the so-called middle strata. Whereas in the past only individual groups of the intelligentsia participated in the movement for peace, today its struggle for peace has taken on a mass character.

A large role in the struggle for peace is being played by scientists who are called upon to provide a thorough analysis of the consequences of an atomic war and to warn humanity of the catastrophe which threatens civilization on earth in the event of a nuclear conflict. The Pugwash movement of scientists for peace in which Soviet scientists have been actively participating has been developing for more than a quarter of a century.³¹ Within the framework of this movement a document of historic importance was adopted in 1982--the Warsaw Declaration which was signed by 111 Nobel Prize winners in the natural sciences. The world's most prominent scientists categorically condemned the idea of a "limited" nuclear war and actively supported the proposal on freezing nuclear weapons which had been advanced by the Soviet Union.³²

One of the component parts of the movement of scientists for peace is represented by the Dartmouth Meetings of representatives of the Soviet and American publics which are regularly held in the USSR and the United States and at which the problems of international and of Soviet-American relations are discussed.³³

The creation in various countries of anti-war organizations which bring together people from the different professions--"Doctors and Medical Workers for Peace," "Lawyers for Peace," and associations of physicists, journalists, artists, and cultural figures--has become a characteristic phenomenon of recent years. In June 1983 Amsterdam hosted what was already the III Congress of the international movement "Doctors of the World for the Prevention of a Nuclear War" in which 400 emissaries from 44 of the world's countries took part. In July 1983, in Mainz, more than 3,000 representatives of the natural sciences from the FRG, the United States, England, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden raised their voices against the danger which threatens to break off the development of human civilization. In their "Mainz Appeal" the scientists called for the prevention of the placement in the FRG and a number of other European countries of the new American "Pershing-II" nuclear missiles.³⁴

Even broader circles of Soviet scientists are joining the peace movement. An All-Union Conference of Scientists to Deliver Mankind from the Threat of a Nuclear War was held in Moscow in May 1983. Speaking at this conference, the

Chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee Academician M. A. Markov stated that scientists can and must render humanity an important service in preventing a nuclear catastrophe.³⁵ The noble duty of Soviet scientists to promote the strengthening of peace is recorded in the Charter of the USSR Academy of Sciences which was approved by a General Meeting of the Academy on 28 March 1959: "Through its scientific research and through all of its activities the Academy of Sciences actively participates in the construction of a communist society in the USSR and helps to defend the socialist gains of the workers and to strengthen peace in the entire world."³⁶

The IV Meeting of delegations of scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences and the United States National Academy of Sciences which took place in October 1983 in Moscow was devoted to the problems of international security and control of nuclear weapons.³⁷

One is struck by the growing activeness in the anti-war movement of the 1980s of women and youth. There will be a special page in the history of the anti-war movement about the courageous struggle of English women who as early as September 1981 organized a tent camp for peace on Greenham-Common near an Air Force base where preparations were being made to install American medium-range nuclear missiles. In the United States and in most of the Western European countries the youth comprises more than one-half of the participants in mass anti-war movements.³⁸

Clergymen, numerous religious organizations, and the broad masses of believers have begun in recent years to actively join in anti-war actions. This is especially marked in Italy, England, the FRG, and the United States. Many prominent church figures have declared nuclear war to be amoral. Tens of thousands of people frequently gather at religious services of an anti-war character which are not organized in a church. In the United States, for example, a great social effect was created in 1983 by a pastoral letter from Catholic bishops to President Reagan condemning his policy of exacerbating the international situation. The anti-war struggle is gradually seeing the involvement of Protestants and evangelists whose slogan is: "Nuclear War is a Threat to the Kingdom of God on Earth."³⁹ The wide participation by religious leaders and organizations in anti-war protest actions and the putting forward by them of a number of initiatives is characteristic.⁴⁰ The Russian Orthodox Church is playing a large role in the anti-war movement.

Certain strata of the bourgeoisie, primarily those not directly connected with the military industrial complex, are now coming out in favor of peace and of a relaxation of international tensions. Sober-minded capitalist businessmen are demanding a halt to the arms race and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with the socialist countries.

Thus, it has become a characteristic feature of the anti-war actions of the 1980s that today a wide spectrum of political forces is represented in them: communists, socialists and social democrats, members of the "Green" party (in the FRG), Christians and clergymen, and liberals and groups of bourgeois conservatives. In this way one of the most widespread theses of imperialist

propaganda that the anti-war movement is allegedly organized exclusively by communists and under "Soviet control" has been debunked.⁴¹

The contribution of various social movements and organizations to the struggle for the strengthening and preservation of peace is becoming increasingly palpable. Among them, an outstanding place is occupied by the World Movement of Supporters of Peace which is led by the World Peace Council. The latter unites in its ranks active and consistent peace fighters in 137 countries on all of the continents. The World Peace Council, acting jointly with the representatives of other international non-governmental organizations which possess a large amount of experience in cooperation and in the joint preparation of major international public forums (in particular, the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament which was created in May 1982 in Dublin), was the initiator of the convocation of the World Assembly "For Peace and Life, and Against Nuclear War" which was held in June 1983 in Prague. Its work was participated in by 3,296 delegates from 132 countries who represented 1,843 national organizations and movements, 108 international non-governmental organizations and 11 inter-governmental organizations, and 61 religious organizations. As active participants in the movement for peace communists played an important role in this international forum also. Sixty-two communist and workers' parties were represented at the Prague Assembly. It is very noteworthy that the work of the Assembly was also participated in by the representatives of 132 socialist and social democratic, conservative, and national democratic parties and national liberation movements. Despite their diverse ideological convictions and their membership in various political parties, the participants of the Prague Assembly unanimously adopted its summary document, "An Appeal to All Peoples and Governments." In this way it was confirmed in practice that a difference in ideological positions, and membership in one or another political party cannot be an obstacle to participation in the peace movement by all people who are sincerely striving for the preservation of peace.

It is in the unprecedented breadth of its coverage of diverse political currents and in its mass nature that the strength of the anti-war movement is contained.

As in the past, communists are playing a vanguard role in it. As was noted above, it has always been organically inherent in them to pay great attention to the problems of international politics in general and to the anti-war struggle in particular.⁴² At all international forums and meetings they invariably emphasize the decisive importance of mass actions by the broad popular masses for peace and security, and express their readiness for cooperation and for any joint actions in the struggle for detente and disarmament.⁴³

Communists have been and continue to be the most consistent and purposeful fighters against war. "The threat of nuclear war which is hanging over the world is impelling a new evaluation of the basic meaning of the work of the entire communist movement," Yu. V. Andropov noted in a speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "Communists have always been

fighters against oppression and the exploitation of man by man, and today they are also fighting for the preservation of human civilization, for the right of man to life."⁴⁴

The experience of history shows that coordinated actions by communists and social democrats in defense of peace and cooperation between them are important, as never before, for the contemporary anti-war movement. For many decades now the international communist movement has been making great efforts to organize this cooperation, guided by the idea that the call for cooperation is not a tactical device, but an authoritative command of our time: joint anti-war actions by the two basic political detachments of the working class are capable of adding gigantic strength to the mass struggle for the prevention of war.⁴⁵

As a result of the development of the wide-scale anti-war movement, and experiencing ever greater pressure from rank-and-file party members, in recent years the leadership of many social-democratic parties and of the Socialist International has begun to devote more attention to the problems of war and peace. A definite change in the attitude of social democracy toward the anti-war movement manifested itself in the early 1980s not only in the statements of individual social democratic leaders, but also in the documents of the Socialist International. For example, in the summary resolution of the XVI Congress of the Socialist International it was noted that socialists see a hope for peace in the fact that "the growing consciousness of a possible horrible end will promote the mobilization of tens of millions, primarily young people, for a search for peace above all by means of disarmament." For the first time the Socialist International had expressed its approval of the anti-war movement so clearly, a movement which in the 1940s and 1950s was characterized by social democracy as "pro-communist," and in the 1970s was disparaged because of its allegedly negligible influence on the fate of the world.⁴⁶

At its meeting in Brussels in November 1983 the Buro of the Socialist International came out in favor of the conclusion between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries of an agreement on the non-use of force which was also to include a refusal to be the first to use nuclear and ordinary weapons. In its opinion, the chief goal of future negotiations should be a halt to the development, testing, production, and installation of all types of nuclear weapons.⁴⁷

Positive changes have been occurring in many social-democratic parties. A manifesto of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party of Great Britain included a demand for the rejection of commitments regarding the installation in England of cruise missiles and neutron bombs, and for the elimination of all bases for submarines which carry the "Polaris" and "Trident" missiles.⁴⁸ In early September 1980, at the 70th annual conference of the Labor Party in Blackpool, a draft of a pre-election manifesto was adopted which confirmed the above demands and expressed the "intention of Labor to lead the country along the path of unilateral nuclear disarmament."⁴⁹ In October 1983, at the 82nd Conference of the Labor Party in Brighton, a resolution was adopted which sharply condemned the "attempts of

Reagan and Thatcher to push the world back to the hated times of the 'Cold War' and to a dangerous new round of the arms race connected with it." ⁵⁰

The defeat of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG) in the 1983 elections and its movement into the opposition enlivened intra-party discussions, particularly regarding the problems of foreign policy. One after another the land organizations of the SDPG demanded, without waiting for the end of the negotiations between the USSR and the United States in Geneva on a limitation of medium-range weapons in Europe, the rejection of NATO's so-called "dual decision." And, finally, at an extraordinary congress of the SDPG which took place in Cologne in November 1983 a resolution was adopted by 383 votes out of 400 in which it was stated that this party "rejects the installation of new American systems on the land of the Federal Republic of Germany."

The activization of the mass base of the SDPG has resulted in the fact that the most consistent positions in the anti-war movement have begun to be occupied by youth, women's, and other public organizations which are connected with the social democracy and, above all, by the one with the largest mass base--The Amalgamation of German Trade Unions (AGTU). Whereas at first the leaders of the AGTU rejected the idea of conducting a general strike against the installation of missiles which had been suggested in May 1983, on 5 October, following a call by the AGTU, a general 5-minute warning strike was conducted at the plants and factories of the FRG under the slogan: "It is Already Five Minutes to Twelve--No More New Atomic Missiles." ⁵¹ Whereas in 1981-1982 the movement for peace experienced resistance from the SDPG and the AGTU, recently the social democratic and trade union leaders have supported the party's active participation in the mass anti-war actions of the fall of 1983. ⁵²

In the 1980s there was a substantial growth of the anti-war current of the mass movement to protect the environment--a relatively new form of social protest by the workers in the capitalist countries. In recent decades this movement has acquired a mass social base. Thousands of groups of ecological movement activists which are diverse in their social composition have united millions of people who are disturbed by the condition of the environment in their countries. The development and strengthening among supporters of environmental protection of an understanding of the problem in its global dimensions, particularly their awareness of the danger of military factors in the destruction of the planet, has made it possible for the ecological movement to step beyond the framework of its local interests, and participation in the struggle for peace and against the arms race has become a new stage in its activities.

The activities of the "Green" party in the FRG have taken on a sharp social and political character. P. Kelly, one of the founders of the party, was among the initiators of the Krefeld Appeal, "Atomic Death Threatens All of Us!" The party's increased authority and its successes in the land elections of 1980-1983 is not least explained by the great activeness of the "Greens" in the anti-war movement. Their peace slogan made it possible for them to

elect 27 delegates to the Bundestag in March 1983 who made a proposal for a referendum on the question of the siting of American missiles in the FRG.⁵³ It is precisely the participation of the supporters of the ecological movement in mass anti-war actions which in the FRG take place under slogans not only against American missiles, but also against unemployment and social dismantling which has compelled the "Green" party to go beyond the framework of pure ecology and to turn to large social and economic problems.

A large number of participants in such mass movements as the ecological movement, the women's movement and to an even greater extent in religious organizations profess pacifist views. Although the positions of these organizations are of an inconsistent and contradictory character, communists see in them their objective allies.⁵⁴ In anti-war demonstrations communists and pacifists march in the same columns of demonstrators, and they place their signatures under the same documents and appeals in defense of peace. This is not a tactical maneuver by communists, but a consideration of the realities of the new international situation.

In the 1980s there was a substantial growth of the arsenal of the anti-war struggle, and the forms of mass actions for peace became more diverse. As in the past, use continued to be made of such proven forms as congresses and conferences, mass meetings, demonstrations, peace marches, Easter and torch processions, the collection of signatures for petitions and appeals, and diverse forms of strikes. Discussions, seminars, and press conferences on the problems of peace are becoming increasingly popular, and anti-war posters, leaflets, and insignias are being disseminated. The forms of struggle which had already become traditional have taken on an especially mass character and for this reason they are more effective. The peace marches of 1981, 1982, and 1983 had an extraordinarily broad character; their participants covered hundreds of kilometers through dozens of European cities. The present-day anti-war movement has greatly increased its emotional influence. This is determined to a decisive extent by the very character of the actions: hunger strikes as a sign of protest against the arms race, and a determination by the participants in the anti-war movements to continue the struggle despite crude repressions by the authorities.

In recent years new forms of anti-war actions have arisen: peace camps which are organized near existing American bases or those which are being built and near other military facilities; and various types of non-violent actions.

The declaration of cities and of entire regions to be nuclear-free zones has become a new manifestation of the anti-war struggle. In England this movement was initiated by the municipality of Manchester which in the spring of 1983 declared the territory of the city to be a nuclear-free zone. London and other English cities followed Manchester's example. Around 300 Belgian cities also declared themselves to be "nuclear-free zones," and their municipalities adopted a decision to prevent installation on their territories of nuclear weapons of any kind. Hundreds of cities and communities in the Netherlands have come out with a similar initiative. This new form of the anti-war struggle has even crossed the ocean: following Toronto, the City

Council of Vancouver in Canada has prohibited the production, shipment, and storage of nuclear weapons on its territory.

The demand that national referendums be held on the questions of war and peace has become an important one for the prospects of the development of the contemporary anti-war movement. This movement is especially strong in Spain where a number of political parties and mass anti-war organizations are resolutely seeking to have a national referendum on Spain's participation in NATO. The "Green" party has made similar demands with respect to prohibiting the placing of American nuclear missiles in the FRG.

The contemporary crisis which is being experienced by bourgeois democracy shows up especially in the fundamental question of our day: is there to be peace or war. As never before, the governments of the capitalist countries are demonstrating a fear of the free expression of the will of the popular masses with regard to the problems of war and peace. This is understandable. A. Gramsci had already noted that "not a single war would have been begun if before its declaration a prior polling of the population had been conducted."⁵⁵ According to the data of public opinion polls conducted by such prestigious organizations as the Atlantic Institute of International Problems which is based in Paris and the Harris Research Service, the vast majority of the inhabitants of the leading capitalist countries of the West reject the policy of an unrestrained increase in nuclear weapons which is being conducted by the Reagan Administration. For example, 79 percent of the Belgians, 75 percent of the West Germans, 58 percent of the Italians, and 74 percent of the Spaniards are opposed to installing American missiles in Western Europe. Only three-four percent questioned in Japan, the United States, England, France, the FRG, Italy, Norway, Holland, and Spain "expressed approval" of Washington's adventurist policy aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union.

The falsity and hypocrisy of bourgeois "democracy" are being increasingly exposed: in certain Western states the governments make decisions which ignore the will of legislative bodies, while in others parliaments, ignoring the will of the majority of their peoples, push through decisions which run counter to fundamental national interests. Concerned only about their class and egotistical interests, the monopolistic bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy together with the military industrial complexes are in fact committing acts of national treachery by ignoring and disdaining the will of the majority of the populations of their countries.

The special characteristics of the contemporary anti-war movement and, above all, its growing social and political base are creating a number of new problems in the field of the unity of action of the fighters for peace. The participants in the struggle for peace are feeling the scattering of their forces more and more strongly and are attempting to unite the efforts of the various anti-war organizations and groups. Thus, in October 1982 the "Citizens Against Nuclear War," an organization newly created by the American public, was joined by public, trade union, and religious groups and coalitions representing around 20 million people.⁵⁶ The goal of the creation of

this organization was to achieve the adoption of a decision on freezing nuclear arsenals and on the renewal of the policy of negotiations between the United States Administration and the USSR.

The supporters of peace are to an ever greater extent agreeing upon and coordinating their anti-war activities on a regional and international scale. A great impression was produced on world public opinion by the simultaneous mass demonstrations of European and American fighters for peace on the eve of the II Special Session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in 1982. As a rule hundreds and thousands of peace supporters from other countries have participated in the major anti-war actions of the 1980s in the countries of Europe. Mass peace marches and meetings of youth have become international in their composition: for example, The World Forum of Youth and Students "For Peace, Detente, and Disarmament" in Helsinki (1981), and international seminars, summer youth camps, and youth festivals and forums in 1983. The anti-war actions being undertaken by trade unions and womens' and religious organizations have a more international character.

There are specific forces in the contemporary peace movement which state that in contrast to past years when the movement had a clearly expressed anti-imperialist thrust, the movement today must allegedly acquire an "equidistant" character and become directed to an equal extent against both "super-powers"—the United States and the USSR. They justify their thesis by arguing that the two great powers allegedly "bear equal responsibility"⁵⁷ for the arms race and the growing threat of war.

Thus, in order to impose upon the anti-war movement this false conception which is dangerous for the cause of peace and to isolate on its basis the peace-loving forces of the countries of the West from the peace supporters in the socialist states the leaders of the "B. Russell Peace Fund" and of the Movement for European Nuclear Disarmament attempted to make use of "conventions" which were held in July 1982 in Brussels and in May 1983 in West Berlin.

The imperialist powers led by the United States and their special services and propaganda apparatus have been making considerable efforts to split and divide the anti-war movement and to undermine its ardor. They are attempting to prove that now that the installation of American missiles in Europe has already become a fait accompli the anti-war movement has allegedly "lost a battle" and, consequently, has proven to be ineffective and powerless.

The facts, however, testify to the reverse. The anti-war movement has already made an enormous contribution to the struggle against imperialism's aggressive policy and for the prevention of a thermonuclear war. Even the bourgeois mass information media have been compelled to acknowledge that the movement has become a permanent factor of international politics. It is precisely the anti-war movement with its actions, slogans, and international character which has helped to create an atmosphere in world public opinion of a refusal to accept the adventuristic policy of the American Administration.

Only bourgeois pessimists and skeptics look upon the anti-war movement as a temporary and transient phenomenon. However, the objective conditions which have developed on our planet dictate not the attenuation, but the augmentation and development of its mass character and pressure. The installation of American missiles in the NATO countries has, of course, created a new situation which demands that the anti-war movements actively explain to the masses who is guilty for the rupture of negotiations and for the beginning of a new spiral of the arms race, and what gave rise to the necessity for counter-measures by the USSR and the socialist countries which were announced on 24 November 1983 by Yu. V. Andropov.⁵⁸ The new situation will demand new slogans from the anti-missile movement aimed at halting the deployment of missiles and the removal from the territory of Europe of those already in place. The peace-loving public is very conscious of the fact that the struggle against the installation of American missiles must not only continue, but grow stronger. As for the Soviet Union, it has stated that if the NATO countries led by the United States were to reject the further installation of missiles and remove those already in place, then there would be no counter-measures by the Warsaw Pact countries and the renewal of negotiations would become possible.

In our day when ever new millions of people are becoming involved in the broad anti-war movement there is a new confirmation of K. Marx's prevision to the effect that as the scope of social creativity expands there will be a "growth of the size of the masses whose work it is."⁵⁹ The unprecedented scope of the anti-war movement of the 1980s is a proof of the fact that the masses are already making, as V. I. Lenin said, "politics in the serious sense of the word."⁶⁰

Peace on earth can be defended and strengthened only by the united efforts of all peace-loving states and anti-war movements. "The Soviet Union is convinced," it was emphasized in the 24 November 1983 Declaration of Yu. V. Andropov, "that peace can be strengthened and the security of the peoples guaranteed not by means of increasing and inventing ever new types of weapons, but, on the contrary, by means of reducing existing weapons to immeasurably lower levels. Humanity has too many tasks which are not being accomplished solely on account of the diversion of tremendous material, intellectual, and other resources. And from this point of view the achievement of an agreement on a radical reduction of nuclear and other weapons would be a benefit for all peoples."⁶¹

FOOTNOTES

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23. PRAVDA, 7 December 1982.
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35. M. A. Markov, op. cit., p 10.
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INTERNATIONAL

UL'YANOVSKIY EDITS BOOK ON AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 186-188

[Review by M. F. Yur'yev of book "Revolyutsionnyy Protsess Na Vostoke. Istoriya i Sovremennost'" [The Revolutionary Process in the East. History and Present Day] edited by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, Moscow, "Nauka" Publishing House, 1982, 389 pages]

[Text] The appearance during the postwar years of more than 100 new independent states on the political map of the world is a natural result of the long years of self-sacrificing struggle by the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism, a struggle which led to a victory won with the complete support of the Soviet Union and all of the socialist countries.

Basing themselves on the Leninist theory of imperialism and the national-colonial question, Soviet scholars have accomplished a considerable amount for the study of the history and analysis of the contemporary stage of the national liberation movement. Among the serious works which continue this analysis is the collection devoted to the national liberation, democratic, and communist movements in the countries of Asia and Africa.¹ It is a part of a series of works on this topic which has been prepared by the same authors' collective under the editorial guidance of R. A. Ul'yanovskiy in the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the participation of a number of associates from other scientific institutions.² They have all been accorded a favorable reception by the Soviet and progressive foreign scholarly public.

The book consists of a number of individual articles, but the common principles of the authors' collective and the connection between the general theoretical and the practical analysis provide grounds for looking upon it not as a collection, but as a work with a single design.

The article by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy which opens the book, "Lenin on the National Liberation of the Peoples of the East," shows the importance of the principle of the right of nations to self-determination for the struggle of colonial peoples for their liberation. The author emphasizes that it was precisely V. I. Lenin who defended the principle of the right of nations to self-determination in 1922 in the discussion of the question of the unification of the Soviet republics in which he opposed the plan for "autonomiza-

tion." V. I. Lenin also revealed the artificiality of the slogan of "The Self-Determination of the Workers" which had been advanced by Bukharin, and its lack of touch with reality and lack of correspondence to the levels of development of the oppressed and backward nations and peoples of Russia, and also to the degree of their class differentiation. (p 9)

The first article provides the definite direction of the entire work which is expressed in an inseparable connection between the theoretical analysis and the investigation of practical tasks, between the past and the present. This connection is also demonstrated in the well-conceived composition of the articles among which the "general Eastern" themes are as it were supplemented by articles which study single countries. Thus, the articles by M. A. Persits, "On the Preparatory Stage of the Communist Movement in Asia" and Yu. N. Ivanov, "The Proletariat in the Revolutionary Struggle of the Peoples of the East," are supplemented by a study of the question based on specific material of the Arab countries (G. G. Kosach, "The Formation of the Communist Movement in the East"). The article by O. M. Martyshin, "On the Fate of Nationalism in the East," is given specific expression by a treatment of the problems of the revolutionary movement in Iran (S. L. Agayev, "Revolutionary Movement and Reforms in Iran" and A. B. Reznikov, "The Collapse of the Monarchy in Iran. January-February 1979"). A general examination of the contemporary role of the peasantry of the Afro-Asian countries (A. V. Gordon and V. G. Khoros) is backed up by a thorough characterization of one of its segments (the article by V. I. Glunin and A. S. Mugruzin, "The Peasantry and the Chinese Revolution").

At the same time, the basic problems of the revolutionary process in the East are examined in their interdependence. For in actual reality it is impossible to isolate the communist movement from the national liberation movement, or the struggle of the working class from the struggle of the peasantry.

The authors examine the socio-economic and the ideological and political realities of the countries of the East in all of their uniqueness, attentively studying the specific nature of the situation of the Chinese peasantry, or the influence of religion on the class struggle in Iran. This is also a manifestation of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of scientific research. It is precisely the specific analysis of a real situation, which V. I. Lenin called for, that shows that the general laws of the revolutionary process are also in operation in the specific conditions of the countries of the East.

In characterizing the activities of the communist parties of the countries of the East the authors do not avoid the objective difficulties which can only be overcome, as V. I. Lenin observed in 1919, "in the common struggle begun by Russia,"³ jointly with the other detachments of the world communist movement and with their help. The communist parties of the countries of Asia and Africa have repeatedly emphasized that basing themselves on the revolutionary experience and fraternal solidarity of the CPSU is a necessary condition for the growth of their strength.

The question of the connection between the communist and the revolutionary democratic movements is very important both theoretically and practically. During the first post-October years scientific socialism began to be disseminated among the revolutionary democratic intelligentsia. Some of its representatives began to move over to positions of scientific socialism. The first steps were taken in uniting it with the workers' and national liberation movements. With the help of the Communist International the first Marxist-Leninist groups and parties appeared. This process did not occur on fresh ground; it had its pre-history which is examined in the article by M. A. Persits, "On the Preparatory Stage of the Communist Movement in the Countries of Asia," which reveals the process of the penetration to the East of various kinds of non-proletarian and unscientific socialist conceptions.

In our time (and this is taken note of in the book) the process of the changing over of advanced leaders and organizations of the revolutionary democracy to positions of scientific socialism is creating favorable conditions for a deepening and consolidation of progressive transformations. And this is of especial importance in a situation in which the struggle for national liberation in many countries has begun in practice to develop into a struggle against exploitative relations.

The connection between the revolutionary democracy and the communist movement is of paramount importance for understanding the special characteristics of the fight for the liberation of the East. It is a component part of a highly important problem of revolutionary policy--the problem of a united front of struggle against imperialism and feudal reaction, and frequently, when the conditions for this have ripened, against attempts by the bourgeoisie to hold back the revolutionary process and prevent its deepening and movement on to its following and higher stage. The issues of the united front and of the relationship between national and social tasks are treated to one or another extent and from one or another point of view in all of the articles.

The book demonstrates the interconnection between the national liberation movement and the socialist revolution which results from the fact that "imperialism has tied together as a unity of opposites the West and the East, bourgeois progress and medieval backwardness, and exploiter and oppressed nations." (p 15) The colonial world has become the "second front" of the struggle against capitalism as a system for the exploitation and enslavement of peoples. This kind of dialectical approach provides the theoretical grounds for the significance of the contemporary alliance between world socialism and the anti-colonial struggle. "The CPSU will continue in the future," it was emphasized in the Summary Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress, "to consistently follow a course aimed at the development of cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries, and at strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement."⁴

The book about the revolutionary process in the East has a subtitle: "History and the Present Day." This is not only an indication that some of the articles are devoted to the colonial period, while others are devoted to

the problems and events of our day. More important is the fact that history is tied in to the present day, and that the reader receives an idea about the "connection between the times," and about the preparation during past decades of present-day processes with all of their contradictions and complexities.

The interest in our country in the problems of the liberation movement is very great, and the book under review which was written in lively and good language gives food for thought to the curious reader. At the same time, this is a scientific work in which the authors base themselves on the achievements of Soviet orientology and, at the same time, treat many complex problems of the development of the national liberation movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. Editor-in-chief R. A. Ul'yanovskiy. Leaders of the authors' collective: M. A. Persits and A. B. Reznikov.
2. "The Comintern and the East. The Struggle for Leninist Strategy and Tactics in the National Liberation Movement," Moscow, 1969; "The Comintern and the East. A Critique of our Critics. Against the Falsification of Leninist Strategy and Tactics in the National Liberation Movement," Moscow, 1978; M. A. Persits, "Indian Revolutionaries in the Country of Soviets. At the Sources of the Indian Communist Movement," Moscow, 1973; A. B. Reznikov, "The Strategy and Tactics of the Communist International in the National Liberation Question. Problems of Theory and History," Moscow, 1978.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 39, p 330.
4. "Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1981, p 15.

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2959

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INTERNATIONAL

AFGHAN GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS SAID TO EXIST IN XINJIANG

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 9 Aug 84 pp 2-3

[Article by APN political analyst Vladimir Nakaryakov under the rubric "APN Informs and Comments"]

[Text] Vladimir Nakaryakov, Novosti political analyst, writes:

The United States and its allies have already spent a billion dollars on their undeclared war in Afghanistan. The other day the U.S. House earmarked an additional 50 million dollars for continuing "secret aid" to the bands. Counterrevolutionary bands entrenched in Pakistan are receiving from the CIA through various channels the required amount of arms and ammunition.

During his recent visits to Washington and Peking Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yacub Ali Khan examined the "Afghan problem." On returning from the United States, he said the Pakistani side had as never before been satisfied with the results of the talks. In the course of his visit to China Mr. Khan hypocritically harped on the need to base Pakistani-Afghan relations on "dialogue" and "consultations." As "additional arguments" in favour of "dialogue," China considerably increased supplies to the bandits of recoilless guns, grenade launchers, submachine guns and munitions, including dum-dum bullets banned by international covenants.

There is a two-way heavy traffic along the high-mountain Karakorum Highway linking Pakistan and China. Arms are being delivered to the south. Several camps training Afghan terrorists are being shifted to the north, to the Xinjiang Province. There terrorists will master new types of modern weapons received from the United States, including anti-aircraft missiles.

While stubbornly escalating the undeclared war against Afghanistan, the White House and the CIA with every passing day lose hopes for even an illusory victory. In recent months the Afghan army has routed large units of bandits and freed the difficult-of-access Panjshir Valley from mercenary gangs.

Afghanistan and Nicaragua are separated by tens of thousands of kilometers. But Washington's intervention carried out by the methods of state-sponsored terrorism remains the same in all latitudes and longitudes where the U.S. Administration is inspiring and backing undeclared wars. For the sake of "democracy" American style, it uses any means—from aircraft carriers to "toys" stuffed with explosives.

(APN, August 8. In full.)

CSO: 1812/265

INTERNATIONAL

AFGHAN MINISTER DISCUSSES AGRICULTURE, LAND REFORM

Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 27 Apr 84 p 3

[Interview with A. G. Lakanval, Minister of Agriculture and Land Reform, by L. Yakimovich: "The New Afghan Countryside"]

[Text] TODAY THE AFGHAN PEOPLE IS CELEBRATING A NATIONAL HOLIDAY--THE 6TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION. L. YAKIMOVICH, APN CORRESPONDENT IN KABUL, MET WITH A. G. LAKANVAL, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORM, AND ASKED HIM TO ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRARIAN SECTOR OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY.

[Question] What changes have taken place in Afghanistan's agriculture during the years elapsed since the April Revolution?

[Answer] Before the victory of the Revolution of 1978, Afghanistan had been one of the world's poorest countries. Its economy, with its distinct agrarian nature, grew at a sluggish pace. Agriculture was particularly backward. The overwhelming majority of the Afghan peasantry was held under the harsh yoke of a small group of feudalists and landlords, and lived in extreme poverty.

Such was the painful legacy when the people came to power. Hence, the transformation of agriculture was declared to be the principal direction of activities of the party and state.

In the 6 years since the April Revolution much has been accomplished in the agrarian sector, despite the difficult conditions under which the country's entire economy is developing. Roving gangs of counter-revolutionaries dispatched from abroad made the agriculture of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] a major object of their subversive activities. They are destroying irrigation facilities, intimidating peasants and preventing them from transporting their produce to the cities, and destroying the harvest. The enemies of Afghanistan would like to see famine begin in the country, so that

peasants would be prevented from experiencing the benefits of the Revolution and thereby imbued with doubt in the solidity of the people's power. But these attempts prove to be in vain. The Afghan army, with the support of the people, is conducting successful operations against the bandits and gradually liberating the country from them. Peasants are organizing detachments for the defense of the Revolution and giving aid to the armed forces in smashing the Counter-Revolution.

Not so long ago increasing agricultural productivity had seemed to be an insuperable problem. But an end has been put to stagnation. In most domains of the agrarian sector steady progress is being observed. Last year the aggregate value of agricultural output exceeded 88 billion Afghani, that is, it was 7.1 percent higher than in 1978.

Today we can state that Afghan agriculture is developing along the right road. This is demonstrated by the entire 6 years long period of existence of the DRA, and particularly by the results for last year, which became a turning point for the country's entire economy.

[Question] Please describe the course of the land reform.

[Answer] The reform was commenced in 1979. Its nature consisted in distributing lands taken from big landowners among landless and land-poor families. During the first and second stages of the reform 350,000 peasant families were given land.

A survey of the DRA's provinces showed that the Dekhkans [Afghan peasants-warriors] are interested in the continuation and completion of the reform, and that the conditions for it are right. However, it is not enough to provide the peasants with land, as they also should be provided with water, equipment and seeds. In view of this, the state attaches great importance to developing irrigation. Last year 436 million Afghani was spent on these purposes. For this year two and one-half times as much has been allocated.

Pursuant to the regulations supplementing Decree No 8 on the Land Reform, peasant councils are being set up in the "kishlak" [villages]. These elected bodies are the official representatives of the Dekhkans as regards the solution of any land or water problem. The councils should strengthen the direct relationship between the peasants and local authorities

At the present stage of the reform, peasants are being granted up to 30 jeribs (6 hectares) of land each, which meets the needs of the average Afghan family of five to seven persons. Special relief is provided for owners of orchards and vineyards, considering that fresh and dried fruit accounts for a substantial parts of the DRA's exports. During 1982-1983 sales of these produce amounted to US\$210 million.

[Question] What other measures are being taken by the state to stimulate the growth of agricultural production?

[Answer] Peasants are receiving more and more mineral fertilizers, pesticides and seeds. Last year the Dekhkans were allocated a record-breaking amount of

fertilizers--116,000 tons, while at the same time their prices were cut 20 percent. Procurement prices of the principal industrial crops--cotton and sugar beets--were markedly increased. As early as in this year, these measures should result in an increase in the output of these crops.

I have just returned from a trip through some of Afghanistan's provinces in which cotton is grown. As I ascertained from conversations with [farm] managers and peasants, they are clearly aware of what the state expects of them, and they grasp the great importance of expanding the area planted with cotton and increasing cotton yields. In Kunduz Province, for example, the planned harvest of this important crop is targeted at 18,000 tons. But I was assured that the Dekhkans are ready to grow 35,000 tons, provided that the irrigation schedule is adhered to and the locust plague can be coped with.

The planting season is still under way in Afghanistan, and it has been evolving successfully. The needed quantities of fertilizers and seeds have been distributed. Mechanization centers have been set up in a number of provinces, and they help the cooperatives, state farms and individual peasants work the land and conduct planting operations. Tractors are gradually supplanting wooden plows and mechanization is easing the peasant's labor.

The agrarian practice of the people's authorities in the DRA steadily assures the accomplishment of positive transformations in agriculture and provides the elbow-room for the development of productive forces. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which had 6 years ago headed the Revolution, continues to follow the course of further stabilizing the situation in the country, developing the economy and implementing deep social transformations.

1386

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NATIONAL

PROTECTIONISM WITHIN PARTY RANKS SCORED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by K. Aksenov, PRAVDA correspondent, Krasnodar Kray: "Protectionism; A Consideration of Facts"]

[Text] Our conversation was interrupted by a telephone call. My interlocutor, manager of a large enterprise, excused himself and picked up the receiver. Apparently, the news was not particularly pleasing. His expression soured and he answered somewhat equivocally: "We shall think about it" and "We shall consider it." Anticipating my questions, immediately after ending the conversation, he started complaining: "Understand, we have a vacancy for department chief. We also have a candidate for promotion, a young intelligent specialist. But now someone else is being pressed on me. A person of the same quality, one could understand. Yet this man is not qualified. However...he is being recommended from above."

In resolving cadre problems we frequently bypass the advice of the people who are familiar with the applicant for a job and with his practical and moral qualities. It also happens that a manager may vouch for a worker he knows well. This is understandable, for who is better acquainted with a person than the one who works side by side with him?

I recall a case described to me by party members at the Abinsk Livestock Feeding Complex. A strong friendship exists between its director V. Litvinov and chief agronomist V. L'vov. During their free time they like to go fishing together. During holidays their families like to share a meal. Such relations developed gradually. Ten years ago, as kolkhoz brigade leader, Litvinov noticed Viktor L'vov, a bright young man. He liked his serious attitude, his work acumen and, more than anything else, his love of the land. After L'vov graduated from a correspondence institute, Litvinov insisted that he be made his brigade's agronomist. Several years later, when he became head of the farming shop in the farm, he passed on to L'vov his previous position without second thoughts. Three years later, when he was appointed director of the feeding complex, he recommended that L'vov become the chief agronomist of the farm. From the very beginning their relationship has been based on trust and exigency and responsibility for assignments.

At a party meeting, party member L'vov presented a report. Those present greatly praised his initiative and daring in resolving problems but also pointed out, gently, it is true, some blunders. But then the director opened the floor and the discussion became terser. "I have frequently told party member L'vov of the cost of the chief agronomist's blunders," he pointed out. "However, he has not always reacted to such remarks. I believe that he must be taken to task most strictly."

No, L'vov did not resent his comrade but, on the contrary, he tightened up and did everything possible to improve matters.

Many such examples could be cited. This is also the result of the efforts of the party committees, which have intensified of late, in the selection, placement and training of cadres and the increased exigency toward managers.

However, the principles of party cadre selection are not always observed strictly. Sometimes untried people who have violated morality norms are promoted to managerial positions. Not so long ago the kraykom party bureau dismissed L. Matveyev, first secretary of the Timashevskiy Rayon Party Committee. For many years a flood of complaints have been received from this area, mentioning violations of the norms of party life and abuses. Several managers took the path of whitewashing, machinations and bribery as a result of the reduced exigency of the raykom bureau and the first secretary personally. However, things eventually do come to an end. Matveyev lost the trust of the party members and his responsible position.

The question, however, which arises was how was he able to come out smelling like a rose for several years? Simple. V. Sokolov, head of the organizational-party work department of the CPSU kraykom, who had promoted him, was covering for him and smoothing sharp angles. After his own promotion, he recommended that L. Matveyev assume the position of first raykom secretary he had vacated, and subsequently protected him excessively, ignoring numerous rumors and violations. After all of this had become clear, the kraykom party bureau deemed Sokolov's possibility of keeping his responsible position impossible.

Practical experience indicates that wherever the party committees properly engage in cadre selection few loopholes remain for "taking care of one's own." Currently, for example, fewer reports on abusing official positions are being received from the people of Krasnodar. Why? Has exigency been increased? Unquestionably, it has. Of late, more than 100 managers have been relieved of their positions for a variety of reasons. Now all of them work in less responsible sectors. Yet, not so long ago, people with a stained reputation stubbornly "roamed" from one equally important position to another. Frequently they were even promoted....

This, however, is one aspect of the case. The other, no less important, is the following: for the third consecutive year here every candidate for promotion, whether chief of shift or party committee secretary, or director of an association or a plant, is discussed in advance by the party organization and the labor collective. Not everyone liked this innovation. Many people

asked why was it necessary to hold a public discussion about a person who would be managing tomorrow? Would his authority not be undermined? Such fears proved groundless. The certification of managers by the city party committee played its role as well. The candidate's reference is approved after strict and exigent public discussion. As a rule, this is not the standard "portrait" of a person but a document which makes it possible to judge on the positive and negative characteristics of the comrade.

Such an approach to cadres yields good results. However, recurrences of the old disease still happen. This is confirmed by a letter to PRAVDA. "We mentioned in a card the fact that director L. Muzurenko is indulging his friend L. Migagacheva, manager of Store No 10," wrote people from the Pervomayskiy Rayon Food Trade Administration in Krasnodar. "Goods in greater demand are sent to that store from the base. However, by far not all of them are sold openly. An investigating commission found a concealed shortage of 15,000 rubles. Migacheva, however, got away with a small scare...."

Yes, this is true. After a while the soft-hearted manager appointed her own friend, who had already been fined, deputy director of the base where, incidentally, shortages were found to exist. This is truly a case of throwing the fish back into the river. The question is the following: Where were the party members and party bureau looking? They failed to take any steps whatsoever to block the unseemly actions of the manager.

A similar lack of principles was manifested in another case as well. As we know, the housing problem is acute in Krasnodar and other cities in the Kuban. However, the people complain most frequently not about the shortage of premises but the absence of order in housing allocations, abuses and efforts to ignore the waiting list. "Recently," writes M. Zolotavin, engineer at the North Caucasus Branch of the Fats Scientific Research Institute, "a housing waiting list was drawn up. The Bykovs were put at the head of the line. She is deputy director in charge of scientific affairs and her husband is group manager. Everyone was amazed by the decision, for this family already has a splendid apartment...."

I discussed the case with V. Zolochevskiy, the branch head. "I see no violation whatsoever," he said. "The Bykovs were registered in a hostel."

Could it be that V. Zolochevskiy does not know how the Bykovs turned out at the hostel? It turns out that he knew. They were able to circumvene the law with a simple trick. Three years ago, using her contacts, S. Bykova was able to register in the hostel of the Krasnodar Large Housing-Building Panels Plant. After her promotion to deputy director, her husband, Yu. Bykov, "left" their three-room apartment, his aged father and children, and registered in the same hostel. Meanwhile, a waiting line was hastily drawn up in the collective for the first time, incidentally. Then, taking into consideration the "disastrous" situation of the Bykovs, they were put first on the list.

Director V. Zolochevskiy, who is a friend of the Bykovs, played a substantial role in this story. He ignored decency for the sake of friendship. It was on

his advice that Bykov's wife was given her post. The director patronized his friend's dodgings and pressured the public organizations which were drawing up lists of applicants for housing.

Yes, protectionism has many faces. The party committees do not remain indifferent to such cases. Violators are punished and dismissed from their jobs. The following practice is currently applied in the kray: a party member with a reprimand cannot be elected to a superior elective position. Occasionally, however, even the party committees are helpless. It is no secret that some local managers have their protectors in ministries and departments. All that it takes is to summon a compromised official to a bureau session and immediately telegrams are sent or telephone calls are made "from above," requesting that the culprit be amnestied or, at worst, that a reprimand be issued without loss of position.

Recently the Krasnodar City Party Committee Bureau issued a strict reprimand, to be entered in the file of B. Yugin, director of the Okean store. An investigation of the store had exposed most severe violations of trade regulations. The gorkom bureau recommended that Yugin be dismissed and an order to this effect was issued by I. Zheleznyakov, chief of the Krasnodar Fish Marketing Association. Unexpectedly, however Yugin found a defender in the person of A. Chernogortsev, chief of the Azcherrybsbyt Fishing Products Marketing Administration. Ignoring the resolutions, he allowed Yugin to resign as though nothing had happened. However, I. Zheleznyakov, the association's chief, jurist I. Mosolkov and senior cadre engineer A. Obozyanskiy were severely punished for having dismissed him improperly. Look at who is being sentenced and who is being pardoned....

Other examples of protectionism as well could be cited. They have still not been totally eliminated in this kray. Therefore, a more decisive struggle must be waged against this phenomenon.

5003
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NATIONAL

SHORTCOMINGS IN PARTY INFLUENCE ON THEATER WORKS NOTED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 Jul 84 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Party Members in the Theater and the Repertory"]

[Text] The theater season is drawing to a close and the thoughts of the masters of the stage are already turned to the future: What will be the opening performances of the next season, which is approaching, and should something be considered as of now.

The theater's response to the topical imperatives of the time lies above all with its repertory, the specific performances it will offer to the public.

The resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Belorussian State Academic Theater imeni Yanko Kupala" are having a tremendous beneficial impact on the creative practices of the country's theaters. The repertory of a number of theaters has been expanded with new plays which bring to light the best features of the Soviet people, the scale of their accomplishments and thoughts, their intolerance of anything conflicting with Leninist ideas and norms of communist morality and anything which hinders our progress. Success and the broad recognition of the public go precisely to the collectives which have developed an atmosphere of maximal interest in shaping an ideologically and artistically mature attitude toward the repertory, where persistent work is being done on modern topics, where a considerate and responsive attitude toward the development of talent is combined with strict exigency and principle-mindedness and where comprehensive concern is being shown in improving the creative process and the education of the people.

This is achieved above all wherever the efforts of the management, the artistic council and the entire creative collective are guided on a daily and purposeful basis by the party organization and where the party members are in the vanguard of the struggle for high ideological and artistic repertory standards.

However, the results of the season and audience letters also indicate features of concern in the activities of some theaters. It is above all the condition of their repertory, lack of exigency in the choice of plays and the low

ideological and artistic standard of some performances which give cause for serious concern by the public. It is pointed out there are still frequent cases of plays with insignificant topics and alien to the life of the people, and plays and performances whose characters are noted for the limited and base nature of their motivations, spiritual slackness and dirty morals.

A more than sufficient number of such facts were cited, for example, at the repertory conference recently held in Novgorod, the results of which are described in this issue, in the article "Universally Familiar Faces." The participants in the conference spoke with concern of the obviously unsatisfactory situation which has developed in a number of theaters. A serious approach to establishing the repertory, profound interpretation of contemporary phenomena and substantive work with the classics have been replaced with a strictly commercialized and entertainment-oriented repertory which, at best, does not contribute anything to the minds and the hearts and, at worst, is an ideological and aesthetic discard. It was emphasized that in order to surmount such a situation energetic and specific steps must be taken and that a passive expectation of change can only lead to creative dead ends.

This is directly the fault of managements, artistic councils and, naturally, party bureaus and party members in theaters, who remain unconcerned with problems of repertory and do not always react promptly and principle-mindedly to the ideological-creative weaknesses of some plays or the subjectivistic inclinations of some directors. The party organization in the theater is the vanguard of the creative collective and its political nucleus. It is precisely the party organizations which are called upon effectively to influence the artistic policy of the theater, the studio or the philharmonic society and actively to prove themselves in the efforts to improve the creative process, to promote a healthy moral atmosphere in the collectives and to enhance the feeling of responsibility of every creative worker.

It cannot be considered normal for many primary party organizations in theaters still to act timidly in reorganizing their activities in accordance with the increased requirements and tasks. The power of the party's influence rests not in replacing the artistic management or interfering with its functions but in its ability accurately to direct the creative searches of the artist and to involve the entire collective in topical and broad ideological and creative tasks. The party committees and culture authorities must pay greater attention to the ideological education role of theaters and other art institutions and the study and summation of the ideological trend in their repertory.

Today, as in the past, our theaters are short of good modern plays which would become noticeable events in social and cultural life, would enrich our spiritual world and would fully describe the truth about the hero of our time--the person with an active life stance. Continuing and interested concern for adding such works to the repertory is one of the most important aspects of the activities of the party organizations. What matter here are the principle-mindedness of the party members in the choice of a play, active participation in the painstaking creative work with authors, training the local playwrights, ensuring the efficient employment of actors and, at the same time, displaying a sensitive and exigent attitude toward the young recruits.

We know that the creative aspect of the theater, its maturity and its level of professional skill are largely determined by its work with classical plays. We have many splendid examples of contemporary interpretation of the classics, a careful attitude toward them and their talented performance on the stage. Unfortunately, however, theater practices also include other pseudo-innovative presentations which can only trigger a negative reaction in the public. Naturally, the party members have no right to remain indifferent to an arbitrary, sometimes irresponsible and nihilistic approach to the priceless classical heritage.

Principle-mindedness, modesty, reciprocal exigency and focusing on the best achievements of domestic art and ability to draw conclusions from criticism are the qualities which the party organization must develop in every creative worker.

Talent and the responsibility of the artist to the people are indivisible concepts. The creative manager, the artistic council and the party bureau must be united in pursuit of a single objective: making the theater a true social rostrum.

5003

CSO: 1800/480

NATIONAL

MVD LT. GENERAL ON PEOPLE'S VOLUNTARY MILITIA

Moscow OGONYEK in Russian 24 Jun 84 p 7

[Interview with Lt Gen B. K. Yelisov, deputy USSR minister of internal affairs, by special correspondent of OGONYEK; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Boris Kuz'mich, it has been 25 years since the time of the establishment of the voluntary people's militias [DND]. A quarter of a century is a considerable time, a period of time that brings experience and gives one the right to look back upon what has been accomplished. Tell us, how did the militias in the country come about?

[Answer] The first DND began to be established at Leningrad enterprises in the late 1950's. At the initiative of the workers of Kirovskiy Plant, voluntary militia members appeared on the streets of the city, people who, along with the police, began to maintain public order. Later, people's militias were formed in worker collectives and higher and secondary educational institutions in Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Kiev and many other cities. The very first steps of the members of the people's militia showed their enormous role not only in consolidating the public legal order but also in educating Soviet people.

On 2 March 1959, in supporting the initiative of work collectives, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree "On the Participation of the Workers in Protecting Social Order in the Country." The decree noted that the struggle against amoral and antisocial behavior must be carried on not only by administrative authorities but also by the workers and public organizations.

It is now difficult to imagine the streets of our cities and villages without the people with the red armlets with the letters "DND." The authority of the militia members and the respect that they enjoy indicate that the creation of the DND was evoked by life itself. Having assimilated the best that had been accumulated in the experience of the brigades in support of the police and other public formations, the people's militia became a new form of combatting delinquency and criminality.

With time it became necessary to work out new normative acts to bring the work of the people's militia into full conformity with the tasks of the state

structure. In May 1974, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Further Improvement in the Activity of the Voluntary People's Militias to Maintain Public Order." This resolution approved the exemplary statute on the DND, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issued an order "On the Basic Obligations and Rights of Voluntary People's Militias for Maintaining Public Order." The statute indicated that the people's militias are managed by the soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees.

More than 13 million people now have the honorary title of "militia member." During the past quarter century, about 10,000 people have been awarded orders and medals. And the maintenance of order can be linked with deadly danger. In Kostroma, for example, there is a street named after the militia member Erokhov, and a stand has been set up in the museum of the Administration of Internal Affairs of the Kostroma Oblispolkom that tells about the life of this 27-year-old fitter from the Znamya Truda Textile Factory, who died while trying to arrest an armed criminal.

There have been many outstanding actions performed by the people's militias of the Moscow Electrical Machine Plant imeni Vladimir Il'yich, the Leningrad Elektrosila Association, the Kiev Arsenal Plant, the Sverdlovsk Uralkhimash Plant, the Omsk Petroleum Combine, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant and many other enterprises.

[Question] We would like to learn more of the details of the new forms and methods in the work of the people's militia. What changes have occurred in their work over the years?

[Answer] Whereas previously the DND basically patrolled the streets and recreation areas, today they perform educational work among the inhabitants of microrayons in labor collectives; they cooperate with internal-affairs authorities in combatting mismanagement, embezzlement of State and public property and speculation; they provide for the safe movement of vehicles and pedestrians; and they are involved in organizing the free and leisure time of minors.

There are people's militias and groups that cooperate closely with criminal investigation, State vehicle inspections, and authorities that are combatting the theft of socialist property. The recently passed law on labor collectives gives them great powers in providing for the preservation of socialist property and the efficient use of physical resources.

Of interest is the cooperation of the workers involved in combatting theft of socialist property and speculation of the Sverdlovsk regional internal affairs department of Krasnoyarsk with the militia members of the silk combine. At the initiative of militia members, the combine's enclosure was strengthened, inspections of the state of finished products and semimanufactures are being organized, lectures are being given, and the combine management receives weekly reports on the status of protection of socialist property. The enterprise has a commission on questions concerning the condition of socialist property. The commission is headed by the deputy

director and the commander of a specialized DND. The measures that were taken made it possible to close many channels of theft and to improve the situation substantially.

The people's militias are also used successfully in other sectors of the national economy--on the railroads, for example. In recent years, the patronage of the collectives of industrial enterprises over suburban trains has become widespread. It is directed mainly toward the prevention of violations of the law and to support the proper public order at railroad depots and stations and aboard trains. In L'vov, for example, 125 industrial enterprises are sponsoring 268 suburban trains, DND have been formed to accompany trains, and public councils have been organized to work with the passengers.

It frequently happens that alongside the workers of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection one can see their voluntary helpers. More than 1 million militia members are taking an active part in preventing highway incidents.

In Moscow and Leningrad, there are people's militias working with the rayon staffs to maintain order on the water; in Kiev and several other cities, they combat radio hooliganism. One should emphasize in particular the role of operational Komsomol detachments that are participating in the struggle against violations of the law by youths and minors.

In the resolution passed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the 25th anniversary of the creation of the DND, mention is made of the activity of the people's militias in preventing and stopping violations of the law and in educating Soviet people in the spirit of observing the laws and rules of socialist living. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo stressed the necessity of constantly improving the functioning of the DND, of increasing their role in strengthening law and order and public discipline, and of intensifying their interaction with law-upholding authorities.

The party gorkom and the city soviet of people's deputies of the city of Nakhodka in Primorskiy Kray direct daily attention to strengthening the ties between the public and the police. The chairman of the gorispolkom and other city managers speak before the militia members and set forth concrete tasks for maintaining law and order. As a rule, groups of militia members are led by economic managers, secretaries of party organizations and chairmen of the committees of trade union institutions and enterprises. The patrolling by DND members is organized in the daytime during nonworking hours.

[Question] Of considerable importance in the work of the DND is the organization of their interaction with the police. Tell us how this is done and what the problems are here.

[Answer] Questions involving the providing of help to people's militias are regularly discussed by the staff of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the staffs of the ministries of the union and autonomous republics. Special staff members are assigned to organize contacts with the DND staffs of city and rayon authorities.

A very important task for us is that of instructing militia members in the forms and methods of combatting lawbreakers and providing legal training to militia members. Of interest is the experience acquired in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. Under the city and oblast DND staffs is a methods center managed by a council comprised of representatives of party, soviet and administrative authorities as well as public organizations and the aktiv of militia members. This center provides a great deal of help to city and rayon DND staffs in carrying out the legal education and training of militia members. With its help in the oblast, 26 city and rayon methods centers and 15 methods offices were established under the DND staffs. At enterprises, institutions and organizations, more than 1,800 schools for militia members, about 200 centers for public conferences and 45 departments of legal knowledge in association with the people's universities have been established and are operating.

Under the guidance of party and soviet authorities along with DND staffs, many internal affairs authorities have taken measures to provide for the joint service of police and voluntary militia members. In Riga, Vilnius, Ivanovo, Leninabad, Gor'kiy, Nizhniy Tagil and a number of other cities, at the suggestion of the internal affairs authorities, the DND staffs have decided to attach the people's militias to police units for joint work at posts and on routes. In some cities, large militias of one enterprise are consolidated, and in others they are united into one operational detachment. Certainly, there are other forms of interaction, and experience shows that the joint action of people's militias and police has a positive effect on the maintenance of order on city streets, in the dormitory facilities of enterprises and in educational institutions.

Unfortunately, it must be noted that police workers do not always provide effective help to militia members, and sometimes the voluntary militias are unable to organize their own work properly. In particular, militia members do not always receive detailed instructions and their patrol routes are not specified in a timely manner. Such shortcomings cause passiveness and are reflected in the degree of organization of militia work.

For 25 years, detachments of voluntary militia members have been serving to maintain public order. Formed at the initiative of the workers, they became truly mass public organizations. Competent and respected people are working in their ranks—a worker and an engineer, a driver and a teacher, a subway train operator and a student of a VUZ. Among them are veterans of war and labor and quite young producers and Komsomol members of the 1980's. All of them work side by side with the employees of the internal affairs authorities in performing the difficult but honorable task of fighting for exemplary public order.

NATIONAL

KOSOLAPOV ON EXPANSION OF 'COLLECTIVE SPIRIT'

Moscow OKTYABR' in Russian No 5, May 84 pp 167-175

[Article by R. I. Kosolapov: "The Dialectics of Our Life"]

[Text]

1

The Marxist-Leninist concept of developed socialism, which was developed through the joint creative efforts of the CPSU and the other ruling fraternal parties, is successfully undergoing practical testing. It has become a reliable tool for the study of new social phenomena and processes in socialist society and enables us to determine more accurately than in the past the level of maturity reached in its various areas and the immediate, medium-range and long-term prospects in communist building.

The stipulation that the socialist social system becomes an organic entity, which stems from the use of Marx's scientific methodology in the study of developed socialism, plays one of the most important parts in this concept. What does this mean?

In philosophical literature the term integrity usually means a defined qualitative completeness, the internal unity of the considered item, which appears and is reproduced on the basis of relatively stable objective grounds, and which enables us to identify a certain general principle in the evolution of this object. In terms of the new society, such grounds are found in the comprehensive socialization of labor and production, which lead to the fact that all social life is gradually restructured on the basis of its collective principles. In his "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx directly spoke of a socialist society based "on the grounds of collectivism and the common ownership of productive capital." V. I. Lenin linked the entire communist system to common ownership. "A communist society," he said at the Third All-Russian Komsomol Congress, "means that everything is common: land, factories and labor. That is what communism is." On this basis, collectivity (obviously in a great variety of more or less developed forms) becomes a common essential feature of socialist and communist social relations, while collectivism becomes their corresponding value-normative principle. This determines the "systems quality" in the integral principle, without which socialism and communism are inconceivable.

The establishment of the organic integrity of the socialist social system has a long and rich history. During the different stages in building socialism

it was established not directly but through formulas such as "laying the foundations of socialism," "building socialism in its essential lines," "the full victory of socialism," the "moral and political unity of Soviet society," "the Soviet people--the new historical community of people" and "socio-political and ideological unity."

The time when Marxist-Leninist science began to talk about the organic integrity of socialist society as such arrived when it undertook to complete the reorganization of all social relations on internal collectivistic principles inherent in socialism, i.e., when it entered its mature stage. This was authoritatively reflected in the party documents of the 1970s and 1980s.

Essentially, the task of reaching the socialist integrity of the social organism was formulated immediately after the October Revolution, at the very start of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. As we know, at that time five socioeconomic systems coexisted and confronted each other in the economic base. This included the socialist system which, however, had not as yet become predominant. In a fierce class struggle against the exploiting elements, the party, the working class and the toiling peasantry concentrated all their forces on helping socialism gain command heights in the economy and disseminate its influence in all decisive economic sectors. Attention was focused on ensuring a socialist unified system, which was established in the USSR as early as the first half of the 1930s in two forms --national and kolkhoz-cooperative ownership of productive capital--within the framework of a single planned national economy. The transformation of the socialist economic sector into the dominating and predominating sector marked a revolutionary leap toward the organic integrity of socialism and became the starting point for building a developed socialist society.

The importance of the establishment of a single collectivistic system should not be underestimated in the course of building socialism. There have been cases in history of a slowdown in the process of socialization of labor and production or even backward movements, in the course of which, for example, in some countries, for more or less substantive reasons, a delay was allowed to occur in converting a private-ownership petty-commodity economy to a socialist track and its temporary interruption. There also have been cases in which the private artisan, merchant or farmer--obviously in conflict with his socioeconomic nature and the objective trends the carrier and disseminator of which he was--was proclaimed as being part of the socialist social forces." It cannot be denied that for a while such formulas could yield certain tactical results. However, what happened when they were adopted uncritically, as a basic theoretical summation not subject to revision, and when the specific nature of the socialist reorganization of society was slurred over and a lighter interpretation of its essence was given? The result was the strengthening of the contradictions of the transitional period, of the "NEP" situation with all the consequences and the hindering of social progress this entailed. This harmed the ideological aspect of the matter as well. The inclusion of private ownership elements, even those who worked for a living, in the "socialist social forces" led the cadres astray, shifted socioclass evaluations to the right, distorted domestic policy parameters and created obstructions in the socialist education of the youth.

The very logic of the systematic socialization of labor and production and the entire historical process dictates the development of a single socialist system in our country along two interconnected directions. The first is the steady industrialization of all economic sectors, agricultural in particular, the installation of ever-new generations of advanced equipment and technology and the energetic reduction of the still-significant (up to 40 percent in industry and even more in construction and services) sector of heavy physical and unskilled labor.

The second direction is the systematic rapprochement between the two forms of socialist ownership.

The gradual elimination of the major disparities in technical equipment and power availability in the various sectors and production areas, the conversion of agrarian labor into a variety of industrial work, bringing working and living conditions in sovkhozes and kolkhozes closer to and raising them to the urban levels and the increased direct merger between agricultural and industrial enterprises (processing agricultural commodities and servicing sovkhoz-kolkhoz production) were all factors which, on the one hand, contributed to the process of industrial concentration and the appearance of production and scientific-production associations; on the other hand, this led to the appearance of organizational forms which were naturally adopted by national and cooperative farms.

The interfarm (interkolkhoz, kolkhoz-sovkhoz) enterprises and organizations, the creation of which was undertaken on a broad scale in the 1970s, and which numbered some 10,000 in our country at the beginning of 1984, could be seen as laboratories for the organic synthesis between the two types of socialist property in the course of their joint productive labor. Obviously, this was not to say that cooperative and national property had merged or that either of them had exhausted its potential and outlived its age. The social need which became apparent in this case, however, was for developing a single type of organization of the agroindustrial complex and its management, in accordance with the entire experience acquired in this area, which was accomplished at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The purpose of establishing rayon, oblast and kray agroindustrial associations in accordance with its resolutions was to include national and cooperative enterprises within the system of common, more advanced equipment-technological and organizational-technical relations which, in their subsequent development, would naturally influence the structure of the public ownership of productive capital in the agrarian sector, stimulating integration processes within it. Once again, this is a question of the increasing integrity of the socialist economy and the trend it developed toward assuming a total national character.

2

The rapprochement and merger within single organizational units of the two forms of public ownership and the gradual elimination of related two-fold production, distribution and trade relations under socialism are one of the basic aspects in the establishment of a socialist integrity. If we consider the social area, the elimination of the class disparity between workers and

peasants, the abolishment of social divisions between these classes and their rapprochement with the intelligentsia stand out as the most noteworthy trend in our overall social development.

This "division" of socialist society into working class and kolkhoz peasantry --friendly classes which do not oppose each other in the least but which, conversely, are building a new life in a state of close and strengthening alliance--is related to the existence of the two forms of ownership. This "division" is increasingly displaying its transitory nature. As early as the 1970s, some authors tried erroneously to present it as a common feature of the first phase of communism, for its entire duration. However, the historical process developed differently. The definitive word in this case was given by the 26th CPSU Congress. "Under contemporary conditions," reads the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," "the rapprochement among all classes and social groups within Soviet society, leading to the establishment of an essentially and basically classless social structure within the historical frameworks of mature socialism, is continuing." We cannot fail to see here a certain similarity with the resolutions passed at the prewar 18th VKP(b) Congress (1939), which directed the party and the entire people to complete the building of a classless socialist society and undertake the gradual transition from socialism to communism. However, unfortunately we must note that the stipulation of achieving a classless society during the first phase of communism, which owes its origin to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, was not mentioned in social studies for a rather long period of time. This led to the dissemination of other less precise formulations. This hindered the clear view of the future and the accurate definition of many problems.

Let us recall that Lenin frequently and quite firmly expressed himself on this question. The formula "socialism is the elimination of classes" is repeated twice in his work "Economics and Politics During the Period of Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Somewhat earlier, in his "On Deceiving the People With the Slogans of Freedom and Equality," Lenin said: "...Our objective is equality in terms of the abolition of classes. In such a case we must abolish the class disparity between workers and peasants. This precisely is our objective. A society in which a class difference remains between workers and peasants is neither communist nor socialist. Naturally, in interpreting the word socialism in a certain sense, we could describe such a society as socialist. However, this would be casuistry, a semantic quarrel. Socialism is the first stage of communism and there should be no semantic argument. It is obvious that as long as a class disparity remains between the worker and the peasant we cannot speak of equality without being careful not to provide grist for the bourgeois mill."

Therefore, the second phase of communism should be preceded by a society not divided into classes, i.e., by a classless socialist society. This will be the free association between workers engaged in physical and mental labor, based on the socialist interest and communist ideals of the working class, comprehensively proving through its very existence the ancient Marxist truth to the effect that "the status of the working class is the true foundation and starting point of all social movements of our time..."

Today the Soviet working class, which holds a leading position in society, determined above all by its place and role in the public production system, already accounts for the majority of the working people. Such is the major fact of our social life, a fact which will have truly historical consequences. In 1959 workers with their families accounted for the largest population group in no more than six union republics; in 1970 they represented the majority in 13 republics. They reached absolute majority in all union republics by the mid-1970s. It was no accident that this change coincided with the historical period during which Soviet society entered the stage of developed socialism, which is a new stage in the fulfillment of the working class' historical mission.

As the most revolutionary class of our time, the working class is the guarantor of the creation of a classless socialist homogeneous society and the new historical community--the Soviet people--is called upon to become the cradle of the first such society as the summed-up result of building a developed socialism in our country and as an indicator of its organic integrity. That is why the most important features of this integrity, which demand a close, methodologically accurate and comprehensive study, and the essential features of the new historical community are essentially one and the same.

To begin with, the new historical community is the product of the elimination of class antagonism, followed by antagonism among nations, and the establishment of comprehensive relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid among working people free of exploitation. That is why to consider it merely within the range of resolving the national problem, as some authors do, would be a narrow and inadequate interpretation. Clearly, such a community can be formed only by free and equal socialist nations, which have become such as a result of radical social changes in the course of which two factors emerge: a) the shaping of nonantagonistic social structures among all nations and ethnic groups in the country, in which the multinational working class plays a leading role; b) the irrelevance of the national problem as inherited by us from a private ownership society. In both cases the socioclass principle becomes leading, i.e., the new historical community is formed exclusively of friendly toiling classes and social strata to which national differences within them are of no decisive importance whatsoever. Such a twofold definition of the new historical community as an alliance of the toiling people in the nation and of the toiling classes is basic in terms of the integrity of our social system.

3

Not so long ago, in connection with the crisis in Poland, hints of a certain alleged need for a "new interpretation" of the familiar Leninist thesis according to which "antagonism and contradiction are not in the least one and the same; the first will disappear while the second will remain under socialism," appeared in some publications. The meaning of this formulation of the matter was that henceforth social antagonism could be considered possible also under the conditions of built socialism, thus "rectifying" the already generally accepted point of view by the Soviet social scientists. However, such suggestions could hardly be considered a contribution to theory without stipulations. They are most likely caused by underestimating the requirements

of the Marxist-Leninist specific historical approach to social phenomena and, in our view, are insufficiently related to reality.

Let us begin with the fact that neither during the period of crisis nor today could the problems of the transitional period be considered fully resolved in Poland or that Polish society has mastered the full building of socialism. The existence in Poland over a period of several decades of a durable private ownership agriculture and a capitalist sector on a parallel basis with the socialist system, as well as of influential antisocialist ideological trends, confirm the mosaic contrast between the base and the superstructure and the existence of reasons for antagonistic contradictions. "In a number of essential areas of social life," W. Jaruzelski said at the PZPR Poland-wide conference (March 1984), "we laid the foundations for socialism. They are solid. The socialist production method is predominant. The state system is socialist. Poland is a firm link within the commonwealth of socialist countries. However, the level of implementation of changes within the state has been uneven and heterogeneous at the base and the superstructure.... In each crisis," he went on to say, "wealth and poverty become polarized and exploitation intensifies, both the one familiar in economic theory, as the appropriation of added value, as taking place in our country in the petty capitalist sector, and the one which shows up in the form of speculations, corruption, tax machinations and economic deals, which are the source of appearance of a peculiar variety of capitalism which could be described as speculative. All of this forms a closed circle in which the rich produce goods and provide services for the rich."

What serious social scientist could say that this analysis, objectively judged, could be automatically transferred to the domestic situation in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries which, along with a nationalized large-scale industry have a large-scale collective, highly mechanized agriculture? The level of integrity of the socialist social system reached here, which greatly depends on the developed moral and political unity within society, provides substantial guarantees against the appearance of negative trends of a crisis nature. Naturally, this applies with a normally operating mechanism for the planned management of economic and social development and if the long-resolved problems of the transitional period are prevented from becoming galvanized. The ability to see the qualitative difference between societies which are still forced to answer the question of "who-whom?" and societies which no longer experience a class struggle is one of the most important prerequisites for the accurate understanding of the processes occurring within the members of the global socialist system.

Actually, even the controversial version may be used in formulating and clarifying the following important theoretical problem: What are specifically the contradictions which are counterindicated or, conversely, inherent in socialism as an organic integrity.

We already pointed out that after the full victory of socialism class and national antagonisms are eliminated and social contradictions within society assume a nonantagonistic nature.

But is it possible for such a new society to be free from acute conflicts and open clashes?

Why? Both conflicts and clashes occur. Now, however, they are no longer a manifestation of the struggle of class against class, labor against capital and capital against labor or hostility among nations. As a rule, they confirm either disparities among individuals or the clash between the egotistical interests of an individual or a group against the interests of the entire society. Marxism-Leninism has always distinguished between social antagonism, which has no place under socialism, and individual antagonism which will be encountered for quite some time and has held a critical attitude toward efforts to identify one with the other. "Bourgeois production relations," Marx wrote in his "On the Critique of Political Economy" (1859), "are the final antagonistic form of the social production process, antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but in the sense of an antagonism based on the social conditions of life of individuals; however, the production forces which develop within bourgeois society also create material conditions for the solution of this antagonism. That is why the bourgeois social system completes the prehistory of human society."

The solution of the social antagonism which stems from the social living conditions of individuals, mentioned by Marx and which Lenin had in mind, and the transformation of all social contradictions into nonantagonistic as well as reducing residual antagonism to the individual level is a tremendous achievement of socialist society and one of its specific features. It would be hardly possible to look at the new system objectively and knowledgeably without taking this into consideration.

The organic integrity achieved by the developed socialist society is not absolute in the least. It is a steadily developing feature which is asserted through labor and struggle and which clashes with counteracting trends.

Everyone knows that wherever the necessary conscious concern for developing a healthy public opinion is not shown, where educational work in a socialist and collective spirit is weakened, the opposites of communist morality spontaneously grow. Parasites, bribe takers, speculators, thieves, individuals who fill their pockets from those of the state or their neighbors, rolling stones and bloodsuckers are all tempted by the "nobody's" kopek and appropriate the results of other people's labor without pangs of conscience. It was no accident that Lenin rated such social weeds no less severely than the class enemies. Such elements are particularly dangerous because wherever they are able to burrow themselves they make holes in the fabric of socialist social relations, try to set up a network of anticollectivistic contacts and to involve totally unsuspecting people in it. It is precisely they who are the individual carriers of recurrences of antagonism, the elimination of which must and should justify the assumption of antagonistic forms. "As you know," K. U. Chernenko said at his meeting with the voters on 2 March 1984, "the party and the government have intensified their struggle against shameful phenomena such as the squandering of state funds, white-washing, abuse of official position, theft and bribery. This is not a temporary campaign but a line which will be pursued steadily and strictly. There neither is nor will there be any leniency here and no should nurture any illusions on this account."

Control over the measure of labor and consumption, in which increasingly broad toiling strata should participate, is of prime importance in strengthening the organic integrity of the socialist social system. The socialist society is a working rather than consuming society. Within it access to material and spiritual goods is free and open to the conscientious workers who honestly correlate their consumer aspirations with their contribution to the common project. At the same time, parasites, waste-makers and lovers of the "good life without work," as was said at the 26th CPSU Congress, should be deprived of such freedom. Society, the labor collectives and the social organizations are quite partial to the way one citizen or another reaches sufficiency. We must clearly distinguish between socialist and nonsocialist sources of income and achieve equality of all under our legal and moral norms.

4

The fate of the topic of contradictions under socialism has been complex. Although discussed over a number of decades and although positive and universally accepted conclusions should have long been made, to this day contradictions are frequently mentioned only alongside difficulties and are conceived as "shortcomings."

Naturally, a very clear connection exists among contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings. However, they are by far not identical and not even similar to each other. In the past a metaphysical concept developed as a result of a bashful and restrained attitude toward contradictions, according to which they were pitted against a totally incompatible motive factor of socialist development such as unity; a growing equilibrium was ascribed to the historical process, described as "harmonizing." Obviously, this was also the origin of the conclusion to the effect that in a socialist society contradictions "diminish," although no one could say how this appears in reality.

Such views must be considered as differing from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. The time has come to stop interpreting the contradictory nature of social development as harmful and inferior. On the contrary, it was precisely in its conflicting nature that Lenin saw the root of all vitality. The existence of contradictions is not an anomaly but a norm of activity of a healthy social organism and it is not a matter of whether or not to allow the existence of contradictions, for this is not within human power, but of properly regulating their growth and consciously resolving them. Therefore, the use of the approach to contradictions as a natural inseparable attribute of our entire life imperatively demands the reinterpretation of many problems and approaches to them with a specific psychological restructuring, which is mandatory today. This was one of the stipulations of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. An accurate tone must be used in interpreting contradictions under socialism which, precisely, is a most complex matter.

Naturally, the comrades who tried to avoid contradictions in interpreting the processes of socialist construction had their reasons. They were that in the transition from capitalism to socialism the very nature and appearance of all types of social contradictions changed drastically. As we saw, following the

elimination of exploiting elements from domestic social life class antagonism disappears; social antagonism, which was previously the main reason for conflicts in social relations is now reduced to the individual antagonism of the individual bearer of bourgeois-parasitical, grasping and other moods directed at society as a whole. Under socialism all basic contradictions assume a non-antagonistic nature. A superficial approach to this fact could create the illusion that all contradictions have disappeared. The erroneous view of some to the effect that the acknowledgment of the existence of contradictions under socialism could cast aspersions on the new society played a major role in this case. All of this, nevertheless, is no justification for the aspiration of essentially removing socialism from the field of action of the laws of dialectics. Occasionally this clumsy approach to the problem is manifested in presenting general sociological contradictions which remain in all or at least in a number of socioeconomic systems as contradictions specific to socialism. Thus, the "bold" statement that under socialism a contradiction exists between production forces and production relations is of no particular value from the scientific and political viewpoints. This type of triteness, like the assertion that a contradiction between society and nature, between social life and social consciousness, between base and superstructure, between industry and environment, between the individual and society, etc., will always exist in one way or another, is equally trite. We believe that here not an abstract-sociological but a specific historical approach is needed more than anywhere else.

If we discuss most seriously the contradictions within socialist society, we should analyze two of them mainly: first, contradictions triggered by the durability of private ownership vestiges, contradictions between the socialist way of life and the shoots of communism, on the one hand, and the "birthmarks" of capitalism and the "scabs" of bourgeois and petit bourgeois mores, on the other; secondly, contradictions within socialism itself, which appear on its own grounds, above all between the old and the new, triggered by the development of the new social system itself. Whereas the former, which trace their origin to the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, have been well-studied, the relatively lesser amount of study of the latter is a hindrance in resolving many of our problems.

Socialism is the central point of the entire natural process in the sense that it interrupts its primarily spontaneous, uncontrolled and blind flow and channels it into a bed dug by the revolutionary science of society, scientific communism, while ascribing it a deliberately purposeful and increasingly planned nature. By virtue of this fact, the contradiction between growing consciousness and the stubborn opposition of uncontrolled growth, which may assume a great variety of features, from departmental egotism to black marketeering, from parochialism to subjectivism and bureaucratism, represented by quite specific interested individuals, remains over a long period of time under socialism which, naturally, for a variety of reasons is unable scientifically to control all basic areas of social activities simultaneously or within a short historical period. It would be hardly accurate to consider this contradiction merely as inherited from the preceding system. Clearly, it can be reproduced on a socialist basis, outside the direct influence of the capitalist past and the bourgeois West.

But could some contradictions be clearly considered shortcomings?

In all likelihood, yes. However, these are always contradictions (occasionally described as "negative") which are not the result of an objective situation or are inevitable in our system, but are caused by subjective omissions, errors and improper evaluations, which lead to the clumsy use of the extremely rich advantages of socialism, allowing material and moral costs, and failure to identify and utilize extensive reserves. "The party's strategy in perfecting developed socialism," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, "must be based on firm Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundations. Frankly speaking, however, we have still not sufficiently studied the society in which we live and work. We have not fully identified its specific laws, economic in particular. Therefore, we are occasionally forced to act empirically, so to say, using the very irrational trial-and-error method."

The effort to consider all the contradictions of socialism as its shortcomings is essentially antidialectical but, alas, not new. This is either a manifestation of the utopian desire for a society free of all conflicts, governed with no major efforts, unaware of worries, conflicts and problems or else, conversely, a proof of the aspiration to defame socialism for the simple reason that it does not create conditions for a celestial, idyllic life. Such views are opposed by all social practices. The Marxists have never avoided contradictions. On the contrary, they have always faced them, analyzed them boldly and struggled for their prompt resolution. They have considered avoiding the difficulties of social development and hiding behind salutary statements to justify a passive attitude in the struggle inadmissible. Furthermore, Lenin asserted that "the work of Marxists is always 'difficult,' and what distinguishes them from the liberals is precisely the fact that they do not consider impossible what is difficult. A liberal considers a difficult work impossible in order to hide its rejection," Lenin emphasized. "A Marxist is forced by the difficulty of the work to ensure the closer unification among the best elements in order to surmount difficulties."

It is accurately said that under socialism contradictions in historical development are of a special nature, for in this case no classes with irreconcilable interests exist and society consists of working people only. However, this does not cover the entire problem.

We already pointed out that conflicts are not eliminated in the least in a socialist society and that the reasons for clashes among interests and opinions do not disappear.

To begin with, as we know, individual bearers of the vestiges of the bourgeois past may develop antagonistic relations with society as a whole, although at this point this antagonism is not of a social but an individual nature. Secondly, unless nonantagonist contradictions are approached consciously and resolved promptly--which does happen occasionally--they could develop into a conflict, assuming the precise aspect of the old antagonisms.

As to contradictions which appear in a natural and normal way on a socialist basis, they require the continuing replacement of obsolete social forms which hinder further progress, although they too were useful during previous stages

in building socialism, with forms which are potentially stronger and more dynamic and which contribute to our further progress.

It may be said that these obsolete forms as well were created by the new system and that we should deal with them carefully. We can only agree with this. This is accurate in the sense that it protects us from historical tactlessness, from fits of temper, from hasty eliminations and reorganizations and from decisions based more on intuition than science.

This is true without being the whole truth. As communists, we have no right to ignore what Aleksandr Blok called the music of the world orchestra, the eternally restless call of critical-vigilant dialectics. It is hardly admissible to forget that our system did not develop yesterday but is in its seventh decade. The exceptional viability and promising nature of its foundations have been proved by history itself profoundly and comprehensively. However, it does not follow in the least from all this that literally everything of socialist origin, as well as its foundations can withstand the test of time. The most characteristic features of our socialist reality are not only the struggle against vestiges of capitalism in the human mind and behavior but the struggle of the socialist and the testing of its maturity and communist-mindedness.

V

The direction followed in the dynamic evolution of socialism toward the establishment of an increasingly collectivistic oneness stems from the fact that it is a consciously optimized social system focused on the working person, whose own all-round harmonious development is a condition and a prerequisite for the development of all. Essentially, it embodies the idea expressed by Engels at the origins of Marxism, 140 years ago: "A person must only know himself and make himself the yardstick of all relations in life, assess them in accordance with his own nature and structure the world in a truly human way based on the requirements of his nature, at which point he will be able to resolve the puzzle of our time. The truth should be sought not in ghostly, remote areas, not outside time and space and not in some kind of "God" who allegedly lives within the world or against God, but much more closely to man himself." It is precisely the toiling man, with his creative activeness and abilities and needs, who becomes part of a target of socialist development in a communist system, who is the main yardstick of change in social relations. However, are such truths adequately used in our social science and daily practice? Let me cite a characteristic example in political economy.

Let us consider the familiar Leninist idea that socialism means eliminating marketable output. This directly stems from the content of the entire Marxian legacy, although initially it appears unrelated to the type of problems we are discussing here. Efforts were made to ignore this concept or to consider it as belonging to a past age. Nevertheless, it continues to affect the consciousness of the honest researcher. It can be denied only by people who have expected such changes to occur instantaneously, by falling asleep under a system of marketable output and hoping to wake up after its disappearance....

But is this the way real history is made? Naturally, its "technology" includes sharp leaps. However, such leaps take place essentially in the political area, where fast reorganizations are possible by the very nature of things. As to production and all other social relations, in this case it "operates" through lengthy, many-faceted, substantive and cumbersome processes. This fully applies to commodity output.

Nevertheless, why are we discussing this matter precisely now?

What does socialism begin with? It begins with removing manpower from the commodity market and eliminating the buying and selling of it. It would be difficult to fail to see in it a revolutionary change the significance of which, in my view, is still being underestimated in economics. It is difficult not to admit that this is the beginning of the end of commodity output.

Instead of the self-increase of value, which is the purpose of capitalist production and earning maximal profits, which is the aspiration of every capitalist, corporation or monopoly, under socialism man himself becomes the target of the production process, with his growing and rising material and spiritual needs. It is thus that we return to the starting point of this section, to the person as the optimizing measure of the new social system.

Is it not logical that now not only value, although we cannot do without it from the viewpoint of ensuring the economic strength of the production process, assumes priority but also the consumer value, the specific usefulness of the produced commodity?

Does this not change the entire system of coordinates? Does this not make groundless any views on the alleged remaining viability of some sort of "commodity civilization?"

Although in a number of aspects commodity output has still not become exhausted and although monetary-value regulators and incentives remain irreplaceable, the emphasis in the field of economics changes decisively. For example, I cannot understand people who tirelessly, abstractly call for the comprehensive development of commodity-monetary relations without a scrupulously accurate definition of their changed content, without the restrictions imposed on them by the non-commodity nature of manpower, the public ownership of productive capital and the planned nature of the economy, and without the mandatory clarification of the positive and negative possibilities and realms for the useful application of such relations in the new social system.

Naturally, this statement should not be misinterpreted. No one intends artificially to accelerate the process of elimination of commodity-monetary relations, for this is not the way to treat a natural historical process. It is merely a question of not falling into the other extreme--into a dispirited, dialectically indiscriminate commodity-monetary "romanticism."

Let us consider another example, this time from practical experience: the lagging of labor productivity behind the growth of wages and the notorious

shortages which have appeared as a result of the fact that the funds saved by the population are still not matched by an equal flow of consumer goods. Could we honestly claim that this situation does not contain a possible spontaneous, unregulated influence of "available" cash on a planned economy? Would anyone believe the fact that some economic managers are primarily oriented toward value production results, while obviously neglecting physical indicators, does not intensify that same scarcity?

The working person and his comprehensive and harmonious development is the focal point of attention of the socialist society. How is this attention backed by public production? By a certain amount of material and spiritual goods--consumer values and their increased amount, the adequacy of which is quite difficult to determine by society on the basis of their value. This is elementary Marxism. Furthermore, over a long period of time our basic accountability indicators have been those of value--rubles--which are essentially incapable of reflecting the natural structure of the produced items and, therefore, which cannot provide the necessary information as to the extent to which this product can satisfy public needs. A simple price increase, which makes the statistical picture of enterprise activities appear good, can conceal the fact that they fail to supply the Soviet people with the necessary consumer goods.

It is high time to acknowledge the consumer value of the leading economic category under socialism, naturally not merely by proclaiming it but by considering it in all its real direct and indirect relations. What makes this even more urgent is that stipulations on this subject, in the sense that allegedly Marx considered consumer value a commercial rather than political economic category, were refuted...by Marx himself. "...Only a vir obscurus (an ignorant man--the editor), who has understood not a word of my 'Das Kapital'," he wrote in his notes on the book by A. Wagner "Political Economy Textbook," "could conclude that since in one of his notes to the first edition of 'Das Kapital' Marx rejected the entire stupidity of the blabbering of the German professors concerning 'consumer value' in general, referring the readers who would like to learn something about true consumer values to 'manuals on commodity studies,' that consumer value plays no role whatsoever in his view....

"If we analyze the 'commodity,' this simplest economically concrete matter," Marx further explained, "we must set aside any relation which has nothing in common with the object of our analysis. Therefore, that which should be said about a commodity as a consumer value I have expressed in a few lines; on the other hand, I emphasized the characteristic form in which the consumer value operates here, as a product of labor.... Thanks to this, the consumer value--as the consumer value of a 'commodity'--itself has a specifically historical nature." It is precisely the specifically historical nature of the consumer value under socialism, which is essentially different from that under capitalism, that we are discussing. Unlike capitalist production, Marx deemed possible a production which would be "merely a means of satisfying producer needs, a production in which consumer value alone would dominate."

Precisely according to what Marx taught, our economic managers must be most exigently concerned with the material content of the output, i.e., for the

fulfillment of the variety plan and for the quality of commodities as graded in our country. Such is the theoretical requirement. We must firmly reject all kinds of considerations to the effect that the task of formulating physical indicators and combining them with value indicators is essentially difficult. We must not describe but surmount difficulties. As Dante himself believed,

Fear must not dominate the mind;
Else we withdraw from accomplishments...

Naturally, nor should we ignore the commercial, the quantitative aspect of economic management, for it alone informs us of the current profitability of the production process which, as we pointed out, should be advantageous or at least not losing. The economists must determine by themselves what indicator to choose: production cost or labor productivity, norms based on economy or the "index number" which Lenin himself recommended in assessing the condition of our entire national economy.

In its practical refraction, the dialectics of value and consumer value under socialism is directly related to the development of its organic integrity. It is only the adoption of the consumer value, while gradually dampening the negative influence on social relations exerted by its imperfect "alter ego" --value, in the full meaning of the term as applicable to the private ownership economic system, but which results in obvious breakdowns and distortions in a collectivistic system, which enables us to apply in full the object of socialist production in testing with it all changes which are being made and all earmarked measures and steps taken. In the way that the level of satisfaction of steadily growing social requirements is the main criterion of the efficiency of a sector, on the scale of the national economy we must begin with problems the solution of which directly determine the living conditions of the Soviet people, placing at the cornerstone concern for the good of the people and advancing in the direction of the final objectives.

The dialectics of the overall development of the socialist social system requires further details, studies and presentations in new research. "We cannot retreat in the area of the mind." This statement made by Pushkin sounds quite timely in terms of the concept of developed socialism, the ever greater refining and development of which is a mandatory, vital prerequisite for the advancement of the new society, its intensive growth and the realistic formulation and timely solution of the problems of building communism.

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NATIONAL

POLEMICAL BOOK ON SOVIET LITERARY THEORY CRITICIZED

Moscow OKTYABR' in Russian No 5, May 84 pp 206-208

[Review by Ye. Sergeyev of a book "Neobkhodimost' dialektiki. (K metodologii izucheniya internatsional'nogo yedinstva sovetskoy literatury)" [The Necessity of Dialectics. (To the Methodology of Studying the International Unity of Soviet Literature)] by Yuriy Surovtsev, Moscow, Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, 1982]

[Text] The subject of his book "Neobkhodimost' dialektiki" [The Necessity of Dialectics] was defined right away by Yuriy Surovtsev, on the first pages: the dialectics of national and international in Soviet literature. The one who is familiar with this subject at least in general terms has an idea of how many-sided, complex, urgent and acute it is. The author does not attempt to conceal this complexity and acuteness, he is not inclined toward "rounded" formulations and the conciliatory tone is alien to him. Surovtsev knows how and is fond of engaging in polemics, even in theoretical articles in which the genre itself makes it possible to confine oneself to general judgements and conclusions the critic does not miss an opportunity of taking up an argument with one or another opponent and of refuting one or another reason, which does not appear sufficiently well-founded to him. He assumes "that today's 'lengthy' (but unprecedentedly dynamic) processes of life are experiencing a special dependence (even though an 'opposite' one) from the natures, from the people, who live and act under their conditions, and this 'opposite' influence is not a minor one at all but which constantly increases, and time... demands--objectively--such an increase in human activity." This is not just a judgement, this is a sort of an author's credo and promulgation of own position, since Yu. Surovtsev belongs to those critics who not only follow the movement of the literary flow and not only analyze and describe it, but--and this is the main thing--strive to actively influence the development of literature, after all the literary process is, undoubtedly, by no means in the last place among the "lengthy... unprecedentedly dynamic processes of life."

For a critic, who regards influencing literature as his duty and professional responsibility, it is extremely difficult to decide on including articles in his new book which were published earlier (at times 10 and even 20 years ago), for if the literary situation has changed, then the previous works can perhaps be only of historic interest.

Yu. Surovtsev has found a way out of the situation. He does not alter the old articles, does not touch them up with facts and thoughts and does not "rejuvenate" them, even if, by his own admission, he now clearly sees "certain weak aspects in them." He includes journal and newspaper articles of former years in the book in the same form in which they were written, but accompanies these works with a contemporary commentary ("From the Experiences in the Seventies") in which he describes in detail all changes that have occurred in the literary situation, in the general understanding of a problem which was raised at one time and in the views of the author himself.

I believe that the fundamental (precisely fundamental) correctness of the critic should be noted especially. He argues and argues explosively, sharply and in an "attacking style," but at the same time is extremely attentive to the opinions of his opponents, often quotes their objections and thoroughly examines arguments advanced against him, in some cases responding to them with new counterarguments, and in other cases admitting to one or another degree the correctness of those who objected to him. Correctness is Yu. Surovtsev's creative principle: "After all, we are writing not for self-valued inflaming of polemics, but for mutual conviction in that the proposed ways lead to the truth more reliably."

I would also call the construction of the book "The Necessity of Dialectics" as correct. It opens with three articles devoted to the study of Lenin's legacy. The fervor of these articles, according to the contention of the author himself, was "defined by a striving to show the wholeness of the Leninist dialectical methodology" in the analysis of subjects such as "ideology and anti-ideologism," "dialectics of interrelations of democratic and socialist tendencies in the consciousness of class antagonistic societies and in their culture" and the "yesterday and tomorrow in the destinies of nations and national cultures." This does not at all follow, as if the understanding by Yu. Surovtsev of Marxist-Leninist positions is the only true and maximally complete out of all possible ones, which is also testified by the statements of opponents that are cited by the critic in commentaries to his articles as well as his own admission that over the years this understanding and grasp has been developing and will, of course, change from now on. But here again the principle of correctness itself is important--the author begins analyzing the phenomena and facts of contemporary literature only after a detailed and thorough presentation of methodological bases on which his point of view is based.

Characteristic of practically specific works of Yu. Surovtsev--be it a polemical retort, review or problem article--I would say, are "spaciousness" and the breadth of area on which the author builds his conception. He is one among our few critics who finds time to follow the multinational literary flow in its totality, with all numerous subject, genre, stylistic and other currents, waves and eddies. He easily conjugates the phenomena occurring in Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian literatures and in the prose and poetry of the Baltic region, Transcaucasia and Central Asia, by projecting them against the historical background and achievements of contemporary world literature. To some extent the author's erudition can also be testified to by such a detail: in the "directory of names," which is placed at the end of the book,

there are more than 700 (!) surnames. Of course, such breadth in the scope of material is not compulsory for everyone. A researcher may also arrive at highly significant generalizations as a result of analyzing a narrow subject with limited material, but, indeed, it is not erudition by itself but an ability to use it and a special "wide-frame" manner of thought, in my opinion, which deserve respect (and, I will note this parenthetically, testifies to the enviable capacity for work of the author).

I completely agree with Surovtsev's general conclusions and with his assertion that national and international do not exist apart from each other and that both of these concepts are social in their content, but the author's individual and especially polemical expressions appear debatable to me (how could a polemical expression be unquestionable?). For example, the author of the book "The Necessity of Dialectics" disputes the legitimacy in using such expressions as "national character" and "national style." He shows quite convincingly by using numerous examples that many researchers interpret these concepts extremely arbitrarily, on how God will put one's soul into it: the only commonality of interpretations consists in that the national character and style represent for literary scholars and critics a certain sum of abstract, but absolutely positive properties and qualities. Surovtsev is also correct in the case when he states that the use of these word combinations ("national character" and "national style") often does not clear up, but on the contrary obscures the essence of the problem, does not lead to the truth, but leads away from it.

All of that is so.

But let us try and formulate the question differently: if some phenomenon (all the more so a complex phenomenon which requires a comprehensive study) cannot be described, systematized and analyzed by science (at its contemporary level), is it a sufficient reason to assert that the phenomenon itself does not exist and that it cannot be recognized priorly? After all, in the terms of literary studies it is so far impossible to describe things which are far more simpler, well, let us say, intonation. Apparently, all agree that intonation, the tonality (sometimes it is said: music or internal sound)--is one of the most significant components of artistic structure. However...

In my opinion, "national style" is a concept which is not as much scientific as practical. Thus far science has failed to come up with a sufficiently strict enough interpretation of this concept, but then it was felt at all times by artists. Some followed it, others pushed away from it and still others strived to combine the national style with some other. In other words, reality is not the national style as a certain collection of compulsory and inimitable traits, but the notion about it, which is formed in one or another epoch (with certain additions and reservations the same can be said about national characters, types, themes and so forth). By itself this notion changes in time, in which, incidentally, the works of art do not play a minor role.

Generally speaking, a brief review is no place for arguments, but the book by Yu. Surovtsev (its thoroughness and polemicizing in combination with correctness,

the author's tone itself, who is striving not to force his own opinion upon a reader--although he not only does not conceal it, but on the contrary thoroughly advances arguments for it--but to prompt a reader toward reflecting jointly on the subject which is important for modern literature and--more extensively--culture) prompts toward determining own position on those questions which are being raised by the author. And in this, in my opinion, is one of the main merits of the book "The Necessity of Dialectics."

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NATIONAL

CONFERENCE VIEWS PROBLEMS IN CPSU HISTORIOGRAPHY

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6 Jun 84 (signed to press 31 May 84)
pp 146-149

[Article by S. V. Sergeyev: "Historiography of CPSU History: Problems of Methodology"]

[Text] A scientific conference, which was devoted to this subject, was held at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. It was organized by the CPSU History Department of the Academy of Social Sciences [AON]. Participating in the work of the conference were teachers and scientific associates of departments of the Academy of Social Sciences, higher party schools and some of the country's higher educational institutions.

The conference was opened with an opening address by Prof N. F. Kuz'min, first prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences and doctor of historical sciences. In dwelling on the current tasks facing historians of the party, he stressed that one of the most important among them is the deep comprehension of the CPSU's historic experience, in which, in particular, the general patterns in the activity of Marxist-Leninist parties during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism were manifested for the first time. The experience of other socialist community countries and those fundamental changes, which have occurred in the world during the past few years, have not only confirmed the correctness of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, but have also enriched our ideas of creating a new socioeconomic formation. Theoretical generalization of the CPSU's experience is especially important from this standpoint. The solving of this task appears to be extremely relevant today, when ideological confrontation of the two social systems has sharply intensified. Under complex conditions of the anticommunist "crusade," which has been launched by imperialism, first of all, by American imperialism, and intensification of the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe, historians of the party are required to considerably intensify and raise the effectiveness of ideological education of workers. It is a question of making the system of ideological influence more purposeful and systematic, intensifying its counterpropaganda character and exposing bourgeois falsifications of the CPSU's historic experience. Especially important in this plan is the treatment of methodological problems of history of the historical-party science itself, which are to be discussed at this conference.

A report devoted to the current problems of methodology of historiography of the CPSU history was delivered by Prof N. N. Maslov, supervisor of the CPSU

History Department of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee and doctor of historical sciences. The speaker pointed out the significance of methodological aspects of historiography of historical-party science for raising its level as a whole and dwelt on the functions of historiography of the CPSU history. In his opinion it is possible to single out four such functions. The first of them is heuristic, exploratory. Its realization begins with the study of published literature, i.e. bibliography. Unfortunately, it also happens that the entire process of work on the "historiography" of a subject ends with a bibliographic exploitation. "Bibliographism" is a kind of a "childhood disease" of historiography--in point of fact it is only an initial stage of historiographic research. "It is necessary," the speaker said, "to go further--to ascertain the scientific novelty of each work and its real contribution to the development of scientific knowledge. This is being served by the second function--the appraising one which is directed at studying the dialectical stages of cognition. A shortcoming of some historiographic research," the speaker said further, "is inclusion in scientific description of all available literature without exception on given problems." A historiographic fact, in the opinion of N. N. Maslov, can only be literature which contains new ideas and ensures increase of knowledge. The historiography's third function is a prognosticating one, it implies determination of perspective directions in the development of research problems in one or another field of historical-party science. The fourth one, on the logic of cognitive process, but a leading one due to its methodological and political significance, is the ideological function. A historiographer's task consists in showing the struggle of ideas, the conflict of different opinions and points of view and the struggle in the final analysis for assertion of one or another scientific conception. "Unfortunately," N. N. Maslov noted, "this process of accumulating knowledge as a result of overcoming some and asserting other views is not always reflected to a sufficient degree in literature. A conflictless, 'smooth' presentation of scientific thought motion during one or another historical segment does not correspond to real facts."

The speaker further dwelt on the question of using Marxist-Leninist principles of scientific research in historiographic work. Here he devoted attention to the necessity of a historic approach in appraising the literature being researched and taking into account conditions under which one or another work was published (especially during twenties-thirties). It is necessary to place the main emphasis, in the speaker's opinion, not on that which its authors failed to provide, but on that with which they enriched historical-party science. The speaker also noted the importance of the human factor, the individual aspect in historiographic research, and proceeding from this--the expediency of processing personal archives, the study of correspondence of historians, the much deeper research of biographic information on scientists and so forth.

The discussion of positions of N. N. Maslov's report proceeded in three basic directions. The first group of addresses was devoted to analyzing the theoretical problems of historiography of historical-party science. A. I. Zevelev, professor of the CPSU History Department of the Moscow Historical-Archival Institute and doctor of historical sciences, dwelt on the problems of interaction of theory and methods of historiographic research. He stressed that

the scientific basis of methodology of historical science and historiography is Marxism-Leninism and its philosophic core--the dialectical and historical materialism. "At the same time," A. I. Zevelev said, "recognizing the integrating and orientating role of philosophy in scientific cognition, the methodology of history cannot be limited to only one philosophic level or it being reduced entirely to historical materialism and dialectical logic. The dialectical and historical materialism universally comprehends the world and human society and grasps the common laws of their development. But historical science and historiography have the possibility in the process of working and generalizing concretely factual, historiographic and other materials of revealing and formulating on the basis of the laws of Marxist-Leninist philosophy the patterns of historic cognition itself."

Prof L. S. Gaponenko, supervisor of the USSR History Department of the Academy of Social Sciences and doctor of historical sciences, devoted his address to the question of historical succession as a category of historical-party historiography. This problem, he noted, is the most important facet of the principle of historical method. The CPSU in theory and practice takes the factor of historical succession into account without fail, which allows it to build the revolutionary-transforming activity on the basis of consideration of all phenomena of the country's public life. The speaker turned to the Leninist understanding of historical succession, which fundamentally opposes the bourgeois conceptions of this question. He also stressed that the main line in the development of history of historical-party science passes along the line in the process of asserting the Leninist conception in the struggle against erroneous views. L. S. Gaponenko devoted attention to the necessity of considering discussions in historiographic research, which were held at different times on specific problems of CPSU history. He also noted the importance of criticizing those erroneous judgements and appraisals connected with individual events of our party's history, which are allowed not only in scientific literature but also in some artistic compositions. This also represents a historiographer's prerogative, the speaker stressed.

N. P. Frantsuzova, professor of the Academy of Social Sciences and doctor of philosophical sciences, examined such an important aspect of the methodology of historical cognition as the problem of historical reality. In her opinion, it is wrong to equate the object of cognition and historical reality. The object of cognition is that part of objective reality at which our research is directed. Accordingly, historical reality can be regarded as that part of past events which is accessible to historical research at a definite stage of development of science.

Ye. I. Golubeva, docent of the CPSU History Department of the Academy of Social Sciences and candidate of historical sciences, in her address touched upon the questions of improving methods of historiographic research. She devoted attention to the necessity of introducing a system of scientific training and raising the skill of party historians in the field of methodology and historiography. Among the questions which require further development, A. I. Golubeva, first of all noted: the necessity of singling out the specifics in using common historical methods in historiography; the expediency of defin-

ing more precisely the criteria for transition from one stage of historiography to another; local and general periodization; the range of problems which are included in historiographic research; and so forth.

Docent S. V. Kuleshev, chief of the CPSU History Department of the Moscow Geological Prospecting Institute and candidate of historical sciences, dwelt in his address on the problem of typology of historical-party historiographic sources. He noted that it is extremely important to determine the place of a historiographic source in the entire system of phenomena of a given branch of science, particularly to reveal its correlation with a historiographic fact, that is to answer the question: which literature must be an object of a historiographic analysis? The speaker advanced his own interpretation of the concept of a "historiographic fact." He believes that any literature (including popular literature, which does not contain original conception and new material) is a historiographic fact in and of itself. To define the degree of its scientific newness, a researcher must implement some logical-analytic operations, that is to "include" one or another work in the historiographic search process. This primary, "filtering" stage makes it possible in the final analysis to provide an answer to the following question: which of the revealed historiographic facts can serve as historiographic sources. Here, obviously, is where the boundary passes which separates the original and representative publications in scientific respect from those that are compiled. There appears a possibility of defining a historiographic source as a historiographic fact, which contains new conceptual and factual materials that make it possible to reveal the patterns of development of historical-party knowledge.

Speaking of classification of historiographic sources, S. V. Kuleshev noted that works of classics of Marxism-Leninism and CPSU documents are also most important sources for a historiographer. Here, the specifics of his approach to these fundamental sources should be borne in mind--the analysis of their content, first of all, from the standpoint of the process of development of Marxist-Leninist conception of one or another problem. The speaker noted further that besides historical works, publicistic materials can also become an object of historiographic analysis if they contain conceptually arranged generalizations.

The second group of reports at the conference consisted of addresses devoted to specific use of methodological and theoretical principles in historiographic historical-party research. N. G. Tsygadash, docent of the Rostov Higher Party School and candidate of historical sciences, elucidated the correlation between general and individual historiography in reasearching the history of local party organizations. In speaking about raising the scientific level of work being published locally, he also drew attention to historiographic subjects, revealing in doing this the tendencies and prospects for the development of history of historical-party science in the North Caucasus region.

V. P. Yarengina, docent of the Leningrad Institute of Culture and candidate of historical sciences, examined the question of a historiographic source as it applies to journals of the Commission for Collection and Study of Materials on the History of the October Revolution and the History of the Communist Party [Istpart]. This commission's periodicals, the speaker emphasized, as a

historiographic source reflect the level of development of historical-party science as a whole and of individual problems in the twenties-thirties and a range of key problems. During that period, more than 30 journals were published, but for a number of reasons most of them turned out to be short-lived. Only such periodicals of the commission as the PROLETARSKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA, KRASNAYA LETOPIS', LETOPIS' REVOLYUTSII and some others existed for a comparatively long time. Their assignment consisted of broad propagation of historical-party knowledge as well as in conducting research work. In characterizing the content of the commission's periodicals, V. P. Yarengina noted the error of the opinion that exists sometimes on such as primarily publishing. In reality a considerable relative share in these journals belongs to research articles on theoretical problems. According to the speaker's calculations, if at the beginning of the twenties the volume of such materials amounted to only 10 percent in the commission's periodicals, then by the end of the twenties it already amounted to 60 percent. An analysis of these materials, V. P. Yarengina noted, attests to how the process was developing in the mastery by party historians of scientific methodology and logic of development of social knowledge.

G. V. Petryakov, docent of the Academy of Social Sciences and candidate of historical sciences, examined the methodological aspects of studying the historical-party press. Basic attention was devoted to the essence of Leninist approach to the development problems of the press and research of its role in the life of society.

V. T. Shukletsov, professor of the Novosibirsk Higher Party School (VPSH) and doctor of historical sciences, devoted his address to questions of correlation of general and particular in historical-party science, revealing this problem in the example of historiography of party organizations of Siberia. The speaker used specific facts to demonstrate the fallacy of mechanical shifting to historical practice of party work in Siberia of all those appraisals of correlation of class forces, which were legitimate for the Center, as well as the danger of exaggerating national specifics to the detriment of researching manifestations of general patterns of historical development in this region.

Yu. V. Zaytsev, docent of the Novosibirsk Higher Komsomol School and candidate of historical sciences, dwelt on some questions of periodization of historiographic development of the CPSU's agrarian policy in the postwar period.

The third group of addresses pertained to the field of criticism of bourgeois falsifications of historical-party science and historiography of CPSU history. N. V. Romanovskiy, professor of the CPSU History Department of the Academy of Social Sciences and doctor of historical sciences, emphasized the strengthening of the role of historiography of CPSU history in exposing the views of our ideological adversaries. "It is necessary," he said, "to master the dialectics of scientific quest more deeply and to be wary of oversimplification and choosing as an object of criticism only the most ridiculous and politically odious theses of anti-Marxist historiography. The polemical character and the reasoning nature of our work should be strengthened. Especially since not all aspects of the CPSU's historical experience, knowledge of which is required

for more constructive criticism of bourgeois falsifications, have been researched to a sufficient extent so far. It is necessary to deepen our knowledge in this field, giving a detailed and reasoned rebuff to all insinuations by anticommunists."

G. Ye. Tarasova, docent of the Academy of Social Sciences and candidate of historical sciences, spoke of the features of contemporary bourgeois historiography and of the specifics of latest theoretical formations by bourgeois political scientists. "As before," she noted, "features such as relativism and eclecticism in the approach and interpretation of public life phenomena are characteristic of them. One of the leading principles of bourgeois historiography is presentism (making the past correspond more to the spirit of the present). 'Specialists on the Soviet Union,' in their approach to history in a speculative manner, pick out individual facts from the past, which must 'work' for their antiscientific conceptions."

N. V. Zagladin, docent of the Academy of Social Sciences and candidate of historical sciences, spoke on the problems of struggle against bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of the Marxist-Leninist position on the leading role of the communist party. "These falsifications," he stressed, "set as their goal to discredit the historical experience of the CPSU and to 'prove' its inapplicability under conditions of the West with the goal to prevent revolutions. Therefore, the well-reasoned criticism of anticommunist falsifications of the CPSU's historical experience is also fulfillment of our international duty before the international communist movement." In speaking about new elements in "kremlinology," the speaker noted that a crisis in bourgeois science is not always accompanied by immediate weakening of influence of anti-communism on the minds of workers. The forms of this influence change. Some 'specialists on the Soviet Union' now digress from undisguised falsification of facts, engage increasingly more in their false interpretation and orientate toward the 'stereotypes of mass consciousness' created by bourgeois propaganda (for example, on the alleged impossibility of combining democracy with a one-party system). These and other elements should also be taken into account by Soviet socialist scientists who engage in the criticism of bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of CPSU history."

In summing up the work results of the conference, Prof N. N. Maslov singled out long-range directions in the field of further research of methodological problems of historiography of CPSU history. In his opinion, it is, first of all, necessary:

to step up further development of the conceptual system of history of historical-party science (historiographic fact, source, criteria of periodization and so forth);

to interpret more deeply the patterns of the knowledge accumulation process in an indicated field and its leading tendencies and prospects and to develop on this basis a unified conception of history of historical-party science;

during the process of historiographic analysis, to take account of in a proper degree the correlation in scientific works of general and particular problems, theoretical and specific-historical material, the balance of approach to all-union and regional subject matter and so forth;

to devote special attention to questions of exposing by historical-party science of bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of CPSU history at all stages of its development and especially during the period of perfecting developed socialism; and

to develop more deeply the questions of methods in teaching historiography of CPSU history and to begin preparing an educational aid in this discipline.

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REGIONAL

TAJIK CP CC BURO DISCUSSES PROGRESS ON 1984 PLAN

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 8 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Articel: "In the Buro of the Tajikistan CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The results of fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the republic in January and February were examined at a regular meeting of the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee. It was noted that definite successes were achieved in a number of sectors of the economy. Plans for industrial production output and basic indicators for motor vehicle and communications work were exceeded. More meat, milk, and eggs were procured than for the corresponding period last year. The rate of commodity turnover and domestic services rendered to the population increased. Labor productivity was raised and other quality indicators were improved.

At the same time it was pointed out at the meeting of the buro that a number of ministries and departments did not take the proper steps to develop production and raise the efficiency and the quality of its work. The plan for the first 2 months of 1984 for the sale of industrial output taking into account the obligations for deliveries was not fulfilled.

The Ministries of Construction Materials Industry, Light Industry, Food Industry, Fruit and Vegetable Industry, and local industry of the Tajik SSR did not manage the assignment to turn out a number of basic kinds of output. With the availability of sufficient resources the cotton fiber production plan was not fulfilled and an overexpenditure of raw cotton was permitted. The industrial enterprises of the Ministries of Construction, Rural Construction Highway Construction and Maintenance, Cotton-ginning Industries, and the Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika did not insure fulfillment of the plan of labor productivity. The construction ministries and departments did not fulfill the assignment to incorporate capital investment ceilings or introduce fixed capital and social and cultural projects. They did not fulfill the plan for commodities turnover or for volume of sales of domestic services.

The Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee declared unjustified nonfulfillment of the January-February 1984 plans by individual ministries.

The Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee called for supervisors of the ministries and departments to thoroughly and in detail analyze the results of the

activity of each enterprise, construction site, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz for the first 2 months of the current year; to take the necessary steps to insure steady and rhythmic work of all labor collectives; and to mobilize their efforts for complete fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations of the first quarter and the fourth year of the 5-year plan.

In light of the resolutions of the CPSU 26th Congress and the December (1983) and February (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the speeches of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.Yu. Chernenko, it is recommended that the obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party insure further improvement in style and in methods of management of economic and cultural development; develop and firmly establish in the activity of the party organizations and all supervisory personnel a genuine Leninist business-like attitude and adherence to the party principles and the ability in work to combine the principle of collectivity with personal responsibility for end results; and implement strict control over fulfillment of the adopted resolutions. They must raise the effectiveness of indoctrinational measures and their influence on the result of economic activity and the state of the moral-political climate in the labor collective.

The results of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions for the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School" were examined at the session of the buro. It was emphasized that this work was conducted everywhere in close connection with the propaganda for the interpretation of the resolutions of the December (1983) and February (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The main points of the draft were discussed at the January conferences of teachers and workers of vocational-technical education, pedagogical and learned councils, parent meetings, and expanded boards of ministries and departments in labor collectives and in places of residence of the population. More than 8,000 suggestions, amendments, and additions were introduced for all of its sections.

Special attention was given for further improvement of labor training, creation of an appropriate educational-material base for general and vocational-technical schools, model labor and recreational camps, inter-school production-training combines and labor training shops and sections of enterprises; and strengthening of ideological, political, and moral indoctrination and physical development of students. Party committees, the Council of Peoples' Deputies, and national education agencies have been instructed to take the necessary steps to put into effect the suggestions and observations expressed by the workers during the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft for improving the work of educational institutions and pre-school establishments and strengthening control over the progress of construction and timely and good quality introduction of projects for general and vocational-technical education.

The buro discussed the work of the Faizabadskiy Party Raykom to raise the effectiveness of ideological and political indoctrinational work in light of the requirements of the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It was noted that a large detachment of propagandists, speakers, lecturers, political information specialists, and agitators of the rayon is carrying the party word to the masses and quality of their membership was improved. The structure of political and economic indoctrination is being improved.

At the same time it was emphasized at the meeting of the buro that still not all primary party organizations are insuring systematic and comprehensive ideological-political influence on the workers. At times indoctrinational measures are divorced from organizational and economic tasks. The level of education and culture, and the needs of various categories of workers, especially youth, are not always taken into consideration in agitation-propaganda work.

In the resolution adopted concerning this matter, practical measures were outlined to improve the indoctrination of workers and its influence on the development of the economy and culture and all public life.

Measures for further development of forests and their productivity and several other matters of economic and cultural development in the republic were also examined at the session of the Buro of Takjik CP Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

BELORUSSIAN CC PLENUM MEETS ON WORK OF PARTY COMMITTEES

Information Report on Plenum

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jun 84 p 1

[Information report on the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] The 19th Plenum of the Belorussian CP Central Committee took place 19 June 1984.

Examined was the question "On Further Improvement in the Style and Methods of the Work of Party Committees and Primary Party Organizations of the Republic in Light of the Demands of the 26th Party Congress, Subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Regulations and Conclusions Included in the Addresses of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

N. N. Slyun'kov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, presented a report.

The following persons participated in the discussion of the report: L. G. Kletskov, first secretary of the Grodno Obkom of the Belorussian CP; A. A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Gomel Obkom of the Belorussian CP; S. T. Kabyak, first secretary of the Vitebsk Obkom of the Belorussian CP; C. S. Tarazevich, first secretary of the Minsk Gorkom of the Belorussian CP; F. P. Sen'ko, BSSR minister of agriculture; A. A. Petrov, general director of the Mogilevskiy Khomvolokno Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin; S. S. Ling, Chairman of the ispolkom of the Minsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies; V. P. Samovich, first secretary of the Brest Gorkom of the Belorussian CP; V. G. Galko, secretary of the party committee of the Minsk Tractor Plant; Ye. G. Brichkovskiy, brigade leader of the fitters and assemblers of the Grodno Assembly Administration of the Soyuzprommontazh Trust; P. M. Tatushkin, first secretary of the Mstislavskiy Raykom of the Belorussian CP; R. V. Petrekhotkina, assembler of the Minsk Production Association for Computer Technology and party group chief; V. A. Kovalev, section chief and secretary of the party organization of the BSSR Gosplan staff; Ye. I. Kimstach, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Sil'nitskiy in Polotskiy Rayon and hero of socialist labor; S. I. Gun'ko, secretary of the party committee of the Mir Sovkhoz-Combine in Baranovichskiy Rayon; and V. I. Losev, machinist at the Gomel Glass Plant imeni Lomonosov.

A resolution was passed on the question under discussion.

Participating in the work of the plenum were V. P. Sobolev, sector head in the section for organizational-party work of the CPSU Central Committee, and B. N. Rogatin, instructor in the propaganda section of the CPSU Central Committee.

Slyun'kov Plenum Speech

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jun 84 pp 1-2

[Report on the speech of N. N. Slyun'kov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, at the 19 June 1984 Belorussian CO Central Committee Plenum: "On the Further Improvement in the Style and Methods of the Work of the Party Committees and Primary Party Organizations of the Republic in the Light of the Demands of the 26th Party Congress, Subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Regulations and Conclusions Included in the Addresses of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee."]

[Excerpts] The work of our party and the efforts of all workers of our country, said N. N. Slyun'kov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, in a report given to the plenum, are now dedicated to the struggle to carry out the decisions of the 26th party congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee to strengthen the economic and defense capacity of our State and to increase the well-being of the Soviet people.

The success of our movement forward depends upon a further increase in the leading and directing role of the CPSU. Therefore, higher and higher demands are now being put on the level of work in the party itself and in all of its units.

In improving the forms and methods in the work of party and soviet authorities and of all our personnel, there is an enormous and inexhaustible reserve for improving matters in each sector of economic and cultural construction. The concrete program for strengthening the Leninist style of work in all areas of management and administration is set forth in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums, in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee on the report of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and in the works and addresses of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

The multifaceted and fruitful work of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo is a model of the creative, well-considered, theoretically proven and politically balanced approach to guiding the life of the party and the entire society, and it is also a model of a truly Leninist style of work.

As is known, the main characteristics of the Leninist style are a scientifically founded approach to matters, diligence and initiative, unity of words and deeds as well as of decisions and performance, strong ties with the masses, personal responsibility for the assigned sector and a self-critical evaluation of work results. It presupposes a determined struggle against complacency and excessive optimism.

Before convening the actual plenum, we thought a great deal about how best to prepare and carry it out. We wanted it to provide help in collective comprehensive, dissemination and consolidation of all that is positive in the style of the work of the republic party organization and in concentrating the attention of personnel on searching for more effective forms and methods of party work and of managing the economy, science, culture and communist education. These questions were analyzed and discussed in meetings at the party obkoms with the participation of the secretaries of the Belorussian CP Central Committee. At party meetings of the BSSR Council of Ministers, the Belorussian Council of Trade Unions, the Belorussian Komosomol Central Committee and of all republic ministries and departments, they examined questions concerned with improving the forms and methods of the work of their organization and staff groups. At the Belorussian CP Central Committee, there were meetings with a group of secretaries of party committees, ministers, managers of enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and press workers.

There was a broad and free exchange of opinions. It showed that the style of the work of party, soviet and economic authorities is in need of serious improvement. We were again convinced that many cadres are slow in reorganizing the work in consideration of new demands by life and our possibilities. There were many concrete proposals directed toward reducing the unjustifiably large number of meetings and sessions and excess paper work. There was emphasis put on the necessity of improving the control of performance and of eliminating redundancy in the work of various authorities and organizations. Other questions of principle were raised. All comments and proposals were studied and summarized in the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

Questions of party guidance of the development of the national economy demand our closest attention. We have to implement a complex of measures of economic, organizational and ideological character to stimulate advanced work and the full utilization of internal resources for the purpose of increasing production efficiency and of putting production on the path of intensification as quickly as possible.

As a result of the realization of concrete measures to implement the instructions of the November (1982) and other plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic began to overcome the unfavorable trend of the first half of the 5-year plan, when the rate of economic development slowed somewhat. The increase in national income exceeded the planned target for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan and amounted to 21 percent. The volume of industrial output for the first 5 months of the current year increased by 6.3 percent. The essential conditions were created for implementing the tasks both for the current year and for the overall 5-year plan. A further increase in labor productivity was specified.

It was possible to attain certain progress in agricultural production, construction, transport and in output of national consumer goods. There was a turn to the better in public commerce and in developing the area of personal services. A certain reduction in the materials intensiveness of production was achieved. These and other positive changes were achieved mainly by increasing the degree of organization and by strengthening discipline and order, that is, through the

use of reserves lying, in a manner of speaking, on the surface. But these are just the first steps. The basic work in the unconditional implementation of the plans of the current 5-year plan and in increasing production efficiency is still ahead. The ministries of light industry, the meat and dairy industry, consumer services and trade, the BSSR Union of Consumers' Societies, and the industry of the BSSR Ministry of Industrial Construction have not been working at a pace that would permit implementation of the 5-year plan. As a whole, industry in the republic has still not achieved the planned production volume of items of the highest quality. The tendency for the return on investment to decline has not been overcome.

The demand of the Belorussian CP Central Committee to increase production output without adding to work force and to reduce the number of workers at operating enterprises by 1 to 2 percent has not been implemented everywhere.

Labor and material input in production is being reduced only slowly.

There are still many associations, factories and plants that are not fulfilling the plans for the sale of articles with delivery according to the contracts. The 5-month target for this indicator was not fulfilled by every third enterprise in Mogilev and Vitebsk Oblasts and by every second enterprise in the Ministry of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Rural Construction, and the BSSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry.

Serious failures are being observed in capital construction. At many construction projects, there are losses of material and labor resources and there is an increase in the production cost of work and in material intensiveness. Not eliminated is the old disease of lowering the planned volume of commodity construction production and the introduction of fixed capital in the first quarter and first half year. For the first 5 months, the 1984 targets for these indicators were fulfilled by 9 and 14 percent, respectively.

There are many unused reserves in the republic's agriculture. Although the volume of sales of livestock and poultry increased by 13 percent during the period January through May, and overall milk production increased by 7 percent, a significant portion of the farms permitted a decline in animal husbandry output compared with the corresponding period last year.

Speaking of the ways to eliminate existing shortcomings and neglect, the speaker pointed out the need for further strengthening of discipline--executive, labor, technological and planning discipline--and for improvement in the work of personnel in all sectors of the economy.

N. N. Slyun'kov further noted that the CPSU Central Committee stands firm in raising the question of increasing the role of party committee as the organs of political control. But this is logically linked with the necessity of increasing the initiative and responsibility for what has been entrusted to soviet and economic authorities and public organizations. Many operational employees and managers of ministries, departments and local soviets, however, are still "dragging" questions before party authorities that they should solve themselves. In this way, they are trying to protect themselves in the event that they have to

answer for possible failure in the work. For then they can say: I did ask for help, I asked you to intervene. In this way, it will not be he, the immediate executive, who has to answer for an unsolved matter, but the party committee, the party worker.

All of this initially evokes a lack of initiative and scruples and, in the final analysis, it leads to a lack of responsibility on the part of the economic manager.

There is another category of personnel who, without providing for the implementation of some assigned task or other that--to be sure--requires considerable effort to be resolved, raise new problems and seek a new solution to that problem by the higher authority. And that is still another flow of paper and again there is a lack of responsibility for implementing a decision already made.

The Leninist style of work presupposes a correct and clear delineation of the functions of party, State and operational authorities as well as their managers. Policy and economics are inseparable. But the party guides the economy rather than managing it. Unfortunately, many people are turning to the party committees of the republic, including the Central Committee, with questions that are in the direct competence of soviet and operational authorities. It is necessary to be stern in calling to account those managers who are to blame for the fact that these questions are not solved locally.

The report also criticized several party committees that are taking on the functions of the operational authorities, that are replacing them.

Overly close control hinders the training of personnel and produces weak-willed people lacking in initiative, who merely await instructions from above and do not act on their own according to the specific situation. A party administrator should do what he is supposed to do, better than others but not for them. It is a valuable worker who works not "one for all" but along with everyone else, and who can organize harmonious collective work.

The party committees, emphasized Comrade K. U. Chernenko, are obligated to take the approach that they are political organs and organize the implementation of the tasks not outside of the economic and soviet organs but through them. The practice of replacing operational managers cools the enthusiasm of cadres. It also includes the danger of weakening the role of the party committee as an authority for political leadership. Whatever the circumstances, one must remember that for the party committees to be involved with the economy means to be involved above all with people.

Our plenum, stressed N. N. Slyun'kov, was convened at a decisive time. The 11th 5-Year Plan is coming down the home stretch and it is now just a matter of months. In each sector, in each labor collective, it is necessary to make the essential corrections in the organization of the work so that everywhere its level and intensity would guarantee the unconditional implementation of the tasks of the five year plan. It is necessary to pull up the sectors that are lagging behind and take exhaustive measures to overcome delays wherever they have occurred.

The surge of national initiative was evoked by the task set by the party for an above-plan increase in labor productivity and an additional reduction in the cost of production. The results of the first 5 months show that the republic is meeting these indicators. There has been an above-plan increase of 2.1 percent in labor productivity and a reduction of 0.69 percent in the cost of production. When the annual results are in, it is a matter of honor of each collective, each party organization and each manager to report a fulfillment of this very important party task.

For our personnel, the remaining one and a half years of the 5-Year Plan are a serious test of political maturity and of the ability to work effectively. And everyone must show and prove what he is capable of doing. He is obligated to pass this test with honor.

In our party and country, preparation has begun for the 27th CPSU Congress. The basic directions are being developed for the economic and social development of the USSR during the 12th 5-Year Plan and through the year 2000.

In entering into a new stage in its development, the country possesses tremendous possibilities for solving important new tasks.

The main thing for the party and its economic policy was and is its concern for the person with his growing material and cultural requirements. The task is to raise even further the well-being and the entire complex of living conditions of our people and in the near future to solve completely the food and housing problems as well as the problem of consumer goods and personal services in accordance with the increased needs of the workers.

Substantial funds are needed to solve these and other problems. Our sole source of these funds is accelerated development of the economy, an increase in its efficiency and an increase in national income on this basis. The task of the CPBe Central Committee, the government of the republic, all communists and all labor collectives is to consolidate what has been achieved, to find these production reserves and put them into operation and to make full use of the latent factors for an accelerated development of the economy and for a fundamental change in the intensification of the national economy. It is essential to embody this strategic orientation of the party in concrete tasks of our plans for the coming period. The country is expecting a worthy contribution from the republic.

We must direct the entire system of administration and planning as well as our organizational and political work to resolving these tasks.

In duly recognizing what has been done and what is being done, we cannot forget that only an all-round critical analysis and a fundamental evaluation of what has been achieved will help us to make more progress and will help to improve the entire work.

This is all the more important because there are still a good many unresolved questions in the work of the party committees and organizations. It is necessary to analyze in greater depth the economic efficiency of production in all

sectors and all enterprises and to analyze the effectiveness of the work of scientific units of the republic. In the course of this analysis, it is important to reveal shortcomings with the mandatory development of measures to eliminate them.

All of our personnel must always see the long-range prospects and work towards them. They should never be satisfied with what has been achieved. In summarizing the results of the work, it is essential to proceed not so much from what was done but above all from what was not done and why. It is necessary to compare what was done with what needed to be done and what could have been done with full use of the existing reserves and possibilities.

In evaluating the level of the work of personnel employed in the national economy, it is not enough to look at the indicator for plan fulfillment. Without fail consideration must be given to the results achieved in increasing labor productivity, in reducing production expenditures and in lowering its energy and materials intensiveness, to its technical level, to the utilization of production capacities and assets, and to the profits and profitability obtained.

The task of party authorities is to help economic managers to master the skills and ability needed to seek and find ways to increase production efficiency.

The report greatly valued the initiative of the party organization and the workers of the city of Minsk, who began a campaign to provide for the entire increase in the volume of production this year by raising labor productivity, and to accomplish this in 1985 with no increase in physical resources. This must become the program, the norm for the work of all party organizations and labor collectives of the republic.

N. N. Slyun'kov then touched upon a broad spectrum of other questions of social and economic development that demand the concentration of the efforts of party, soviet and economic authorities of Belorussia.

In particular, it was pointed out that it is essential to improve the work in the technological re-equipping of production and to increase capital investment for these purposes.

It was noted how important it is to increase party influence in resolving a task such as providing for effective use of production capacities, improving quality, expanding the assortment and increasing the output of consumer goods, successfully carrying out economic experimentation, and introducing progressive forms of organizing and motivating labor.

N. N. Slyun'kov further said that one of our most important tasks is that of increasing the effectiveness of the management and administration of agriculture. This work must be subordinate to the unconditional fulfillment of the tasks of the Food Program, to the accelerated renovation and well-being of rural areas, to an increase in the yield of the scientific and technical potential created in the agroindustrial complex [APK] of the republic and of the material and financial resources directed to that area, and to a reduction in losses in the entire chain of production, shipments, storage and processing of agricultural output.

The permanent point of reference in our work must be the horizons determined for the 5-Year Plan for production in horticulture and animal husbandry.

It is a matter of honor for the republic party organization to carry out the planned measures to eliminate the developing obligation in the sale of potatoes, vegetables, sugar beets, flax fiber, milk and meat to the State.

We must be firmer and more consistent in continuing the policy of improving the level of management in rural areas and in strengthening and developing the positive trends that have been noted. To a considerable extent, the successful resolution of the tasks facing our agriculture depends upon the level of the work of rayon and oblast councils of agroindustrial associations and the republic commission on APK questions. It has been a year and a half since the formation of these new administrative authorities. Some of them have learned to carry on production independently and efficiently. The Vileyskoye, Slonimskoye, Nesvizhskoye and a number of other RAPO's [rayon agroindustrial associations] are doing much to intensify intersectorial ties, to introduce advanced technologies and kolkhozes and sovkhoses and progressive forms of organizing and remunerating labor, and to increase the volume and improve the quality of production.

At the same time, some oblast and rayon councils of agroindustrial associations lack initiative and diligence. There is still a lack of departmental coordination in the work of APK partners.

The party committees need to be more active in helping RAPO's to get off to a good start in their work, in teaching them to act boldly within their functional limits and in increasing responsibility for the work assigned.

In recent years, continued the speaker, a number of decrees on questions of improving style and methods were issued by the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the CPBe obkoms. By virtue of inadequate control over their implementation, however, some party committees and organizations are slow to reorganize their work.

N. N. Slyun'kov noted that further improvement in the style of our work is linked with constant development of internal party democracy and communist initiative and with an increase in their activeness in developing decisions and putting them into effect. In this connection, party meetings are a good school. The practice of carrying them out has improved noticeably of late. In a number of cases, however, an atmosphere of ostentation rather than of diligence and strictness prevails at the meetings.

At meetings of communists, as at some plenums of party committees, there is not always criticism and self-criticism and an open exchange of opinions. Experience shows that where criticism is taken seriously and they use this powerful weapon skillfully, things go well and there are fewer errors and omissions. In contrast, to underestimate criticism leads to a worsening of shortcomings. Being beyond criticism, some personnel degenerate and often they become obusive.

The striving of particular gorkoms and raykoms to examine the personnel matters of communists, ignoring the primary party organizations, is inadmissible. This

removes the guilty from criticism and control by their work colleagues. The incorrect actions of a communist must by all means be examined in the primary party organization and made public. V. I. Lenin called that the sword that heals the wounds that have been inflicted.

Clearly organized control and verification of execution is an effective means of training personnel and is an indispensable part of the Leninist style of work. It must be said that this important section of work has still not been properly coordinated. Many republic and oblast authorities reduce the control of the implementation of decisions to a registration of the measures taken and they carry it out mainly by requesting written information. The commissions, in going out to the sites, often begin and finish the work not by learning about the actual state of affairs and not by determining and carrying out helpful measures but by collecting various reports and summaries.

They are not doing any good, the work force is in a feverish state, and the numerous redundant checks of the very same rays and collectives distract them from their specific work. But there are republic and oblast control commissions. They are the ones who are obligated to straighten up this matter.

Control and verification are above all the organization of execution and a means to prevent shortcomings. The Central Committee sections and the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must be persistent in improving this very important element of organizational work. Control must be demanding and thorough. It should be felt both at the center as well as locally.

The letters and statements of workers demand the special attention of all personnel, many of them justifiably point out omissions in the work of party, soviet and economic authorities.

It is essential to explore more thoroughly the problems that our people state in their letters and to seek their solution. Every party worker must always remain faithful to the Leninist tradition of being extremely attentive to the needs and interests of the working people.

The party authorities and all of our personnel must strengthen their ties with the masses in every possible way. This is one of the most important requirements of the Leninist style of work. It is necessary for party, soviet and economic managers to visit the shops, brigades and farms more often, to meet with the people and to address labor collectives. It is essential for them to be constantly interested in what is going on in the stores, dining rooms and studios, in how visitors are being served there and what their mood is when they leave.

An object of constant concern of party committees, N. N. Slyun'kov stressed, must be improvement in the style and methods of the work of State and public organizations.

The soviets of people's deputies can and are obligated to be more involved and more objectively concerned with questions of the realization of the Food Program, of supplying the population with mass consumer goods, of implementing the plans

for construction in housing and cultural and personal services, and of coordinating the work in the service area, and they must also concern themselves with problems of culture and education. They are called upon to do a better job of coordinating the activities of enterprises and organizations in their territory.

The forms and methods of work of our trade unions are in need of serious reorganization, especially in the organization of socialist competition and in the development of brigade forms of organizing and motivating labor. Many trade union organizations are passive in solving questions of production and improving working conditions and the everyday life of the people.

The Belorussian Council of Trade Unions, the republic committees and the oblast trade union councils must work more actively to see that their own mass organization is in practice a management school, a school for administration of public affairs and a school of communism for all workers.

The orientations included in the speech of Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations must be made the basis of the work to improve the style of the work of the Komsomol.

Komsomol committees must make an abrupt turnaround in the direction of increasing their everyday, concrete organizational and educational work among young people. They must be more resolute in getting rid of ostentation and sensationalism as well as trite methods and means with which they often try to solve new tasks.

Party committees and organizations must constantly and thoroughly delve into the social and ideological processes that are taking place in the youthful environment, they must analyze them in depth and help Komsomol organizations in choosing the basic directions and the most effective forms of work. In this connection, under no circumstance should they permit petty patronage. A maximum of conviction, friendly attention and practical help is, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko stressed, a mandatory requirement for the style of party leadership of the Komsomol.

The reorganization of the work of Komsomol committees and organizations must be directed to further increasing the participation of young people in solving tasks that the party establishes for them and to the formation of a high ideological and moral-political culture and a steadfast immunity against the influence of bourgeois ideology and any forms of petty bourgeois and consumer psychology.

In the spirit of the high demands of the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary for us to improve the style of the political-educational work of party committees and organizations and to increase the effectiveness of the work of ideological institutions and agitprop personnel. Much has been done and is being done in the republic in the practical realization of the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. A broad party aktiv and most economic managers and specialists participated in the ideological work. The influence of educational work on the establishment of a healthy and constructive atmosphere in labor collectives is increasing. Many party organizations

of Minsk, Gomel, Pinsk, Molodechno, Nesvizh, Svetlogorsk, Grodno and a number of other rayons of the republic are actively working in this direction.

At the same time, the statute of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum to the effect that ideological work is a matter for the entire party and the duty of every communist is still not being put into effect with sufficient consistency. Not all party committees and not all of their first secretaries are delving into the state of political-educational work in production collectives, and not all are seeking its close ties with economic and organizational practice.

As was shown by the recent report of the Dzerzhinsk Gorkom to the CPBe Central Committee Buro on the implementation of the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, there is still much that has to be done to eliminate formalism in ideological work and to provide for a permanent and effective link between agitprop and life, the concrete affairs of the collectives and the actual problems of concern to people.

On this plane, the regular reports to the workers of the sectors having to do with satisfying the vital needs of the population can be of significant help to us. The Central Committee Buro recently made a decision on carrying out such reports.

It is necessary for the staff workers of party committees to concentrate their efforts on providing concrete help to the secretaries of the primary party organizations and to the lower-level agitprop aktiv in planning and organizing the educational process. Improvement in ideological work must proceed both along the lines of enriching its content and utilizing more effective forms and methods as well as along the lines of strengthening its organizational side, which is still a very vulnerable link.

An important role in improving the style of party work and educational activity belongs to our mass communications media. They are called upon to illuminate these questions constantly and in depth and to disclose the best experience of organizational and political work. It is essential for party committees to increase the management level of newspapers, television and radio and to increase the effectiveness of their addresses and broadcasts.

The main thing now is to shift the center of ideological efforts to the labor collective and the primary party organization and to give up completely the inertia that still exists, where at times all of the work is isolated within the ideological departments themselves and is replaced by the compilation of lengthy papers and sessions of many hours.

As in all party work, the irrevocable features of the style of ideological activity must be diligence, a high degree of organization, precise control and verification of execution and the ability to obtain effective results.

The Institute of Party History under the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the Minsk Higher Party School must make a large contribution to solving the problems examined today.

In conclusion, N. N. Slyun'kov expressed the confidence that the republic party organization, in raising the effectiveness of its organizing and political activity, will successfully provide for the mobilization of the efforts of workers to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the 11th 5-Year Plan and to have a worthy observance of the next, the 27th CPSU Congress.

9746

CSO; 1800/453

REGIONAL

ASHKHABAD GORKOM PLENUM REPORTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 1 August 1984 on page 1 carries a 250-word article on the Ashkhabad Gorkom plenum of 31 July at which the tasks of the city party organizations with respect to the fulfillment of the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers entitled: "On Measures for the Future Development of the Ashkhabad City Economy in the Period 1985-1990" were discussed.

Candidate member of the Turkmen CP Central Committee and First Secretary of the Ashkhabad Gorkom, S.A. Niyazov gave a speech as did the Second Secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, A.I. Rachkov.

Also participating in the discussion were First Secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, M.G. Gapurov; Chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, Ch. S. Karryev; and First Secretary of the Ashkhabad obkom P. Annaorazov.

The participants in the discussion spoke about the important historical, political, social, and economic significance of the resolution, about the enthusiasm with which it has been met, and about how the workers of Ashkhabad had begun to put it into practice. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers addresses the issue of the construction in Ashkhabad of housing, with a total area of 1.5 million square meters, of day care centers with space for 8,710 children, of schools with space for 14,112 students, and centers for cultural, economic and community affairs. Measures for the elimination of the shortages in these areas were adopted.

The participants at the plenum expressed thanks to the CPSU Central Committee and the government of the USSR for its concern for the development of the city of Ashkhabad and affirmed that "all strengths and knowledge would be applied in order to put the adopted measures into practice."

An appropriate resolution was adopted on the question under discussion and measures for carrying out the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers were approved.

CSO: 1830/607

REGIONAL

UZBEK ACADEMY ECONOMISTS CRITIQUE REPUBLIC EXPERIMENTS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by V. Kim, academician secretary of the Department of Philosophical, Economic and Juridical Sciences of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, and V. Kim, chairman of the UzSSR Gosplan Expert Commission: "Concentration of Forces"]

[Text] Economic science has been developed substantially in the republic. Its centers are the institutions of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, the Central Asian Department of the VaskhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin], the republic Gosplan, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and branches of the All-Union scientific research institutes. Economic research also is being conducted by VUZ's and scientific research institutes of noneconomic specializations, as well as by centers for the NOT [scientific organization of labor] and production administration. Economic scientists, jointly with experienced workers in all sectors of the national economy, are actively carrying out the party's economic policy and are making a substantial contribution to development of the republic's economic system.

The preparation of extensive scientific materials for the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress and the plan for development and siting of the republic's productive forces are among the major efforts of recent years. These efforts unquestionably have enriched the scientific basis for long-range planning. Improvement also has begun to show in recent years in the training of scientific personnel of higher skill, the concentration of creative forces to work out major problems and the organization of scientific research.

Economic sciences should further improvement in planning and administration, efficient development of the national economy and its principal components, and acceleration of the republic's economic system to an intensive path. However, reinforcement of the role of economic sciences and improvement in the extent of results they produce are being held back because of the departmental

dissociation of scientific collectives and the processes of developing and approving plans for scientific research operations. The negative results of it are well known: dissipation of efforts and resources, redundancy and duplication. Here are some examples.

Many scientific collectives are working on the problem of efficient use of the republic's manpower resources--the Institute of Economics of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, the NIEI and IVTs [Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Information and Computation Center] of the republic Gosplan, the SANIIESKh [Central Asian Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Agriculture], and branches of the NII [Scientific Research Institute] for Labor and the VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute] of Vocational and Technical Education. But their efforts have been poorly coordinated, not purposefully directed at systematic research of a problem and ways of resolving it in conformity with a plan. Available studies do not reveal to an adequate extent the different aspects of a problem and the factors which have an effect both on the processes of involving manpower resources in public production and on the growth rates of labor productivity. The problem of raising the people's living standard has not become an objective of overall programmed special-purpose research in the republic, either. Scientific institutions are frequently duplicating each other in their research.

Improvement of the management of economic sciences in the republic also depends on their relations with the natural and technical sciences as a whole, including the general economic scientific institutions' links with sectorial organizations, union and republic production associations, and republic ministries and departments. Inadequate development of the thorough integration of economic research has an adverse effect on the study of regional problems of scientific and technical progress and development of productive forces.

A tested tool to overcome the dissociation of economic research is coordination and cooperation in operations. In particular, the experience in developing scientific materials for the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in the UzSSR for the near future attests to their effectiveness. Through the united efforts by scientists and specialists over a relatively short period, they were successful in analyzing a significant amount of statistical, scientific, project and plan materials, in defining the main socioeconomic and scientific and technical problems, and in generalizing present concepts about the basic directions to resolve them in the period being forecast.

In addition, the work that was conducted indicated that with the participation of a number of scientific research institutes, planning organizations and VUZ's, cooperation in research does not yield the desired results if the objectives of the coordination plan have not been included in the subject plans of the executing organizations. In such a situation those who execute do not answer for the completeness, quality and timeliness of research. And it is no coincidence that many sectorial working commissions of the Academy of Sciences, in preparing the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress, accomplished it owing to the enthusiasm of individual scientists and specialists, but some of the commissions could not prepare their own sections.

Broad development of coordination and cooperation in scientific research in working out regional problems requires reinforcement of centralization in its administration for both departmental and territorial systems. The budgetary financing of the scientific institutions of a number of ministries and departments of union-republic and republic subordination, including the Academy of Sciences, the SAO [Central Asian Department] of the VASKhNIL, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Gosplan and Gosstroy, in which the overwhelming majority of intersectorial economic research is conducted, is now being implemented in a centralized manner. But formulation of the subject plans basically is being performed in a noncentralized manner by the scientific institutions themselves, which gives rise to disagreement on subjects and duplication in research not only among the institutes of various departments, but even of a single department.

With the objective of concentrating scientific forces on working out the most important problems, planning of economic research must be raised to the level of a state plan for development of the republic's science and technology in the form of a five-year republic plan for scientific research on the most important economic problems.

The basic principles in preparing it should be a party political approach to selection of the basic directions, problems and subjects of scientific research and an efficient combination of sectorial (departmental) and territorial requirements in conducting it. An important measure of its realization, aimed at overcoming the isolation of scientific activity from the requirements of practice and reinforcing centralized principles, is putting the planning and organization of research into practice on the basis of orders from republic economic and other ministries and departments: the Gosplan, Gosstroy, the Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], the Gosprofobrazovaniye [State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education], the Ministry of Finance, and others. At the same time, the republic plan should not be a mechanical summary of the targets and orders indicated, but a comprehensive document which includes a system of targets subordinated according to content and periods of development, the fulfillment of which ensures comprehensive research of the main interrelated problems in developing the economic system and science. The basis of a comprehensive approach to drafting a plan should be formed by the structure of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress for 20 years, the plan for the development and siting of productive forces for 15 years, and the Basic Directions for Economic and Social Development of the republic for 10 years, in which economic, social, scientific and technical, sectorial and territorial, resource and administrative problems are studied in an interrelated manner. Another fundamentally important requirement is the completion in advance of the appropriate scientific research compared with periods for preparing drafts of the documents cited. This is one of the main conditions for the timely introduction of scientific developments.

Financing of scientific research in accordance with a republic plan should be within the limits established by ministries and departments. But immediate financing of priority subjects of scientific institutions and their subunits

must be ensured. Such a procedure in essence puts into effect the principle of special-purpose financing of operations and has been aimed at concentration of creative forces and resources on the most important problems and elimination of subjects of little importance.

It is evident from this that development of a republic plan entails complex creative and organizational work which must be carried out before formulating the drafts of scientific institutions' subject plans, with accurate definition of their specialization and organizational structure and surmounting the inevitable departmental and psychological barriers. In this connection, evidently, it is necessary to establish a temporary working commission provided with the necessary powers for working out and presenting a draft of the republic plan for scientific research on the most important economic problems of the UzSSR over the 1986-1990 period, in coordination with the concerned scientific organizations, union and republic production associations, and ministries and departments of the republic, at the beginning of the second quarter of 1985. This plan should be approved jointly by the Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences and the SAO of the VASKhNIL. The targets of the approved plan must be brought in a timely manner to the clients and those who will execute it, who will include them in the subject plans.

An important role is assigned to the leading institutes in putting the republic plan into effect. They have to provide scientific and methodical guidance, coordination and concentration of scientific research, and supervision of the course of fulfillment of the targets by the coexecutors and provide official conclusions on the results of their research, and at the same time give an accounting to the client on the entire problem being guided by them. All this requires efficient organization of operations within the institutes themselves based on coordinated collaboration among sectors and departments and determination of the complement of scientific personnel in conformity with the basic directions of research.

The demands on the ministries and departments and union and republic production associations which appear in the role of clients are being increased appreciably. They are concerned to the full extent with the directive of the 26th CPSU Congress that "accurately formulating the objectives which require scientists' maximum attention is the business primarily of central planning and economic organs and the State Committee for Science and Technology." The clients should actively exert influence on the validity of problems' selection and organization of the objective, definition of the expected practical results of their research, and observance of established methodical and other normative requirements for the preparation of scientific predictions, recommendations and proposals.

A weak point in the overall system of managing economic research is control over the quality and introduction of its results. Shortcomings in the final functional link of administration give rise to a decisive extent to the complacency, irresponsibility and fruitlessness encountered, as well as to a closing off of their own thesis and group interests. In order to reinforce control and responsibility, the subjects which do not have official clients

should not be included in the plan, and it is necessary to increase the level of both the effectiveness of departmental expertise in the completed scientific research operations and mainly the role of the scientists of the councils of scientific institutions in their evaluation. The official conclusions of clients concerning the scientific and practical value of the results obtained and the nature of their utilization in economic planning and administrative activity should be one of the basic criteria for it.

In reinforcing state control over the extent to which results are achieved and the quality of economic research in the republic, an important role belongs to nondepartmental economic technical expertise of the UzSSR Gosplan. The expert commission of the republic's Gosplan, the administration of the gosekspertiza [state expert review] of designs and budget estimates of the republic Gosstroy, and a number of departmental expert units should concentrate their efforts in the republic system of scientific research administration.

8936

CSO: 1830/552

REGIONAL

TAJIK CP CC BURO ON 60TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 29 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] At the regular session of the Central Committee Buro of the Tajik Communist Party, questions were examined that relate to the further development of socialist competition for a worthy observance of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the TaSSR and the Tajik CP. It was thought expedient to establish commemorative red banners of the Tajik CP Central Committee, the TaSSR Council of Ministers, the Tajik Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Tajik Komsomol for the winners of the anniversary competition. Also determined were other measures providing for moral and economic incentives for increased labor productivity, higher quality of production and a reduction in its production cost.

The session discussed questions dealing with preparation for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War during the years 1941 through 1945. It was proposed that party, soviet, trade-union and komsomol organizations perform broad-based organizational and mass-political work in connection with this memorable date. People were asked to carry out measures to explain the decisive contribution of the USSR in the destruction of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan and the liberating mission of the Soviet Armed Forces and to reveal fully the role of the CPSU as the organizer and inspiration of the victory over the enemy and the mass heroism of the Soviet people, the warriors of the army and navy, the partisans and participants in the underground and the workers in the rear.

They were called upon to give more attention to the veterans of war and labor, to increase their role in all areas of economic and public life, to involve them more fully in educating the rising generation and to show constant concern for the participants in the Great Patriotic War.

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanov Movement in August 1985, the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro obligated party, soviet and trade union authorities to subject all measures relating to this memorable date to the mobilization of labor collectives and all workers to carry out the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and regulations and conclusions included in the addresses of K.Yu. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and to implement ahead of time the plans and socialist obligations for the 1984 and the 11th 5-Year Plan as a whole.

There was discussion of measures to increase the resources of petroleum and petroleum products and to provide for their economic and efficient utilization in the national economy.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro also examined several other questions concerning the social and economic development of the republic.

9746

CSO: 1830/559

REGIONAL

REPUBLIC PAPERS WORK RELATING TO JUNE (1983) PLENUM DECISIONS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 30 Jun 84 p 2

[Unsigned article: "In the Azerbaijan CP CC"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee discussed the matter of the work of the republic newspapers KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and KOMMUNIST (in Armenian) with regard to enhancing the effectiveness of their publications in light of the requirements of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The decree that was adopted notes that the editors of the republic newspapers KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and KOMMUNIST (in Armenian), guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Azerbaijan CP Congress, subsequent CPSU Central Committee and Azerbaijan CP Central Committee plenums, and decrees on ideological matters adopted since the 26th Party Congress, have been doing a certain amount of work with regard to mobilizing Azerbaijan's workers toward successful handling of the social-economic tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan, also communist indoctrination. The most topical publications have evoked broad social resonance as party and soviet organs and ministry and department boards take appropriate decisions and the issues are discussed at party and workers' meetings.

The newspapers are conducting the propaganda of ideas and party plans, elucidating the significance and essence of the party's guidelines and tasks in the stage of perfecting developed socialism. There have been many examples of the press's active influence on the course of events, of vigorous support for the new, uncompromising struggle against shortcomings. KOMMUNIST has been dealing in a hard-hitting and knowledgeable manner with topical problems of enhancing the effectiveness of work production and quality, the search and utilization of additional reserves, and rational consumption of energy resources. BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY has dealt with matters concerning the adoption of advanced methods of tool hardening and the assimilation of production of tungsten-free steel, which have been discussed in the republic's Gosplan, the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences presidium, and the USSR Machine Building Industry and Chemical Machine Building ministries, and measures have been taken to accelerate the handling of these important problems. The experience of efforts in internationalist indoctrination in the labor collectives has been elucidated extensively in the pages of KOMMUNIST (in Armenian).

Of considerable aid to the party organization are specific materials that have been published during periods of preparations for Azerbaijan CP Central Committee plenums. Broad social resonance was evoked by materials published in KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and KOMMUNIST (in Armenian) concerning preparations for the plenums held in March and October 1982 and July 1983. The newspapers received several tens of thousands of letters, of which more than 2,000 were published. The criticism published in the newspapers became more businesslike, constructive, and specific. More effective control was exercised over republic construction projects declared by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee to be the most vital.

The newspapers have begun to focus more attention on the organizational and indoctrinational work being conducted in the republic to strengthen state, planning, production, and labor discipline, reduce cadre turnover, improve work time utilization, and perfect labor organization and administrative performance.

The effectiveness of publications based on readers' letters, the number of which has been increasing year by year, has been improved. In 1983 alone, the editors of KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and KOMMUNIST (in Armenian) received more than 7,000 official responses concerning measures undertaken in regard to matters broached in the letters of working people. Successful use is being made of such work forms as the holding of Open Letters Day and meetings between the authors of the letters and ministry and department executives.

KOMMUNIST has set up a group to study public opinion and sociological surveys as well as a group of consultants consisting of specialists in various sectors; this has fostered more meaningful content of the publications, greater persuasiveness, and better argumentation in the broaching and elucidation of current problems. The editors of KOMMUNIST and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY have expanded the network of correspondents' posts in the republic's cities and rayons as well as a number of the country's regions with which sponsorship relations have been established--the BAM [Baykam-Amur Mainline], Tyumen, Amur, and Arkhangelsk oblasts--and increased the number of non-staff correspondents in the labor collectives. Questions of enhancing the effectiveness of the newspapers' articles are periodically examined at editorial board meetings and in party assemblies of the editorial staffs. Newspaper articles have begun to be discussed regularly in the labor collectives.

At the same time, the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee notes that there are shortcomings in the work of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, KOMMUNIST, and KOMMUNIST (in Armenian) with regard to enhancing the effectiveness of their publications. The editors of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY have yet to make full use of their capabilities for strengthening effective influence on the handling of economic problems. The editors of KOMMUNIST do not always manifest sufficient concern for meaningful content and resultativeness in their statements. Superficial and not very topical materials frequently appear in KOMMUNIST (in Armenian).

The content and quality of critical publications are not always up to current standards. Shortcomings in the style and methods of the work of the ministries and departments as well as local party and soviet organs are rarely

dealt with. Sometimes the elucidation of matters of discipline and firmness in efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the published materials is not sufficiently hard-hitting. Often the editors are content with formal replies coming in from particular ministries and departments, with cases of delayed reaction to the press's signals. The newspapers have been too slow in ridding themselves of officialese, cliches, trivia, and outmoded work forms, thus reducing the effectiveness of their materials.

Editorial departments have neglected business ties with sector departments of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee. The editors are not in close enough contact with local party and soviet organs.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee has directed the editorial boards of *KOMMUNIST*, *BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY*, and *KOMMUNIST* (in Armenian) to step up efforts to enhance the effectiveness of their articles and publications in light of the requirements of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, also their contributions to the ideological support of the social-economic and political-indoctrinational tasks facing the republic. They have been directed to get rid of shortcomings that persist in these matters. With these aims in mind:

--to make effective use of the creative potential of the journalist collectives and the power of the party's word to mobilize the workers to implement the plans and socialist obligations of 1984 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, and develop socialist competition to raise labor productivity by 1 percent above the plan, and reduce the prime cost by an additional 0.5 percent, and to maintain constant press monitoring of the course of implementation of the obligations adopted by the labor collectives as well as the dissemination and practical success of advanced initiatives and undertakings;

--to provide more in-depth elucidation of the problem of perfecting economic administration and restructuring the economic mechanism and to foster the unfolding of economic initiative and creativity in all production links as well as the dissemination of new methods of labor organization;

--to make editorials more militant, specific, goal-directed, and publicistic, and make them more effective. The content of editorials should reflect key social-economic and ideological problems, topical issues in the life of the party organizations and labor collectives;

--to criticize resolutely and objectively all shortcomings and oversights in the work of the ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations; to come out systematically and forthrightly against conservatism and inertia, against mismanagement and wastage of material-technical resources and funds;

--to step up efforts to enhance discipline, responsibility, order, and organization in each workplace; to foster an atmosphere of intolerance toward any violations of discipline, manifestations of laxity and irresponsibility, or deviations from norms of communist morality;

--to broadly develop social principles [obshchestvennyye nachala] in the newspapers' activities, enlisting more collaboration by workers, kolkhozniks,

scientists, specialists, members of the creative intelligentsia, young writers, artists, and publicists; to improve work with readers' letters and make more active use of letters to the editors in order to elucidate a broad range of matters of concern to the people and raise new, vital issues; to disseminate in all newspaper collectives the experiment of commentary on letters to the editors and readers' meetings with executives of various sectors of the national economy, organizing and conducting readers' conferences and Open Letters Days; to strengthen the effectiveness of social editorial receptions, thoroughly study readers' opinions concerning the newspaper, and take it into account when preparing materials for publication;

--to work out and adopt a strict system of monitoring the effectiveness of positive and critical materials; to inform party organs concerning cases of formalistic reaction to principled statements in the newspapers; to make a practice of follow-ups; to conduct raids to verify the effectiveness of the press's signals and the objectiveness of the responses received; and to bring before the court of public opinion any instances of bureaucratism or red tape or attempts to suppress criticism.

Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of the Azerbaijan CP must raise the level of leadership of newspaper performance, react swiftly to press statements, and strive for effectiveness in the published materials. More attention must be focused on the work of the republic newspapers' own correspondents, informing them in good time about important economic and political measures being undertaken locally and, for this purpose, inviting them to meetings of the party committee buros. Progress in dealing with critical remarks published in the press must be monitored closely.

Ministry, department, enterprise, and organization officials must view swift reaction to newspaper materials as one of their most important obligations, respond to press, television, and radio statements in a timely manner and in accordance with the substance of the issues raised, and undertake specific measures with regard to them.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation, as well as the party organizations of the republic newspapers' editorial boards, must impose higher standards on publications, develop criticism and self-criticism in the editorial collectives, and enhance the responsibility of every creative worker for the effectiveness of press materials; concern must be manifested for the further enhancement of the ideological-political and professional level of journalist cadres.

6854
CSO: 1830/567

REGIONAL

CONFERENCE OF KIRGHIZ INSPECTION COMMISSIONS EVALUATES WORK

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 8 August 84 carries on page 2 a 2,600-word report on a meeting of the representatives of kolkhoz inspection commissions which took place on 4 August. First Party Secretary T. U. Usubaliyev marked the conference with a lengthy speech; additional speeches were given by the chairman of the Kirghiz Council of Ministers, A. Duysheyev and Kirghiz Minister of Agriculture A. S. Savitakhunov. The republican public prosecutor P. N. Dryzhak and the Kirghiz Minister of Internal Affairs D. A. Akmatov were listed among the participants. The inspection commissions are responsible for the direct care for and control of the material and financial resources for kolkhozes; on average each kolkhoz has a staff of seven persons occupied with these important tasks. Although some praise was delivered for the achievements of individual kolkhozes, the report on the whole was of a negative tone. The session participants were reminded of their high personal responsibility for the material available to their organizations; kolkhoz directors and auditors alike were criticized for occasionally working hand-in-hand in their black-market schemes. The recently uncovered problems in the Ministries of Agriculture and Fruit and Vegetable Production were mentioned; it was noted that their leadership was being called to account for its actions. The conference participants were also urged to work more closely with the people's control organs; the goal was for them not only to bring illegal activities to light, but also to prevent them before they happened.

CSO: 1830/609

REGIONAL

KAZAKH CP CC BURO ON ROLE OF PROCURATOR

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "At the Buro of the KaCP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Buro of the KaCP Central Committee considered at a regular session the question of the work of the party committees of Uralsk Oblast to achieve the further improvement of the administration of the activities of the Soviets of People's Deputies. It was noted that the party organizations are constantly concerned about increasing the role of the local Soviets in economic and cultural construction and in their more complete use of the rights and powers granted by the USSR Constitution and the KaSSR Constitution.

At the same time the level of the party administration of the Soviets of People's Deputies does not yet correspond to the increased requirements. A number of local Soviets in the oblast have been slowly improving the style and methods of their work and have not been demonstrating the proper persistence in implementing the plans for economic and social development. There has been a lag in the construction of projects intended for social and cultural-everyday purposes and there have been shortcomings in the services provided to the public.

The Buro of the KaCP Central Committee has recommended to the party's Uralsk Oblast Committee, in the light of the requirements of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, that it increase the role of the local Soviets of People's Deputies, so that each of them completely carries out its rights and duties, operates dynamically and efficiently, resolves completely the tasks of economic construction and the providing of cultural and everyday services to the public, and contributes to the fulfillment of the national economic plans for the current year and the five-year plan as a whole.

The Buro discussed the question of the work of the KaSSR Procurator's Office. The decree that was enacted pointed out the necessity of increasing the role and responsibility of the procurators in the oblasts, cities, and rayons in guaranteeing strict execution of Soviet laws by state agencies, economic and cooperative organizations, officials, and citizens. There is a need to intensify the work of coordinating the actions of the law-enforcement agencies, the public, and labor collectives in the fight to assure the intactness of the nation's property and the reinforcement of state and executive discipline.

The session considered the question of the economical and efficient use of petroleum and petroleum products in the republic. It was noted that their thrifty and complete use is of very great importance to the national economy. The republic's party, Soviet, and economic agencies have been instructed to take steps to fulfill the plans for the production of petroleum and gas and the increase of their reserves, and to concentrate the efforts of the collectives on the further intensification of the branch.

The session approved measures for completing the construction of the Large Alma-Ata Canal. The Buro of the Central Committee, attaching tremendous importance to the canal in increasing the effectiveness of the use of the irrigated land and in increasing the production of agricultural output for improving the rate of supplying the population in the city of Alma-Ata and the capital oblast, deemed it desirable to continue the construction of the canal as far as Chemolgan River.

The Buro also considered other questions.

5075

CSO: 1830/597

REGIONAL

GEORGIANS WRESTLE WITH CLEAN WATER/SEWAGE PROBLEMS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Vasilii Korkiya, chief of Gruzvodokanal Association, Georgian SSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Operations: "The Long-Term 'Temporary Layout'. How To Impose Strict State Order in the Construction and Operation of Wastewater Treatment Facilities"]

[Text] Under conditions of the scientific-technical revolution and the intensive development of all sectors of industry and agriculture, great economic and social importance attaches to environmental protection. Its importance is especially emphasized in the "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990."

In this connection, the problem of wastewater treatment is especially important. The fact is that Georgia is using more and more water year by year, with a corresponding increase in the amount of wastewater discharges which must be treated in order to prevent water pollution. But the construction of treatment facilities is proceeding at a slow pace, and most facilities are turned over for operation on a "temporary layout" basis--that is, lacking automation of technological processes and including considerable uncompleted work...and this temporary layout, which requires considerable additional work later on, remains in operation for years.

Let us recall that until 1975 only seven of the republic's sewer management systems included treatment facilities; in other words, only 12.3 percent of the water discharged into bodies of water was treated, and only 3.5 percent treated biologically. During the 10th Five-Year Plan and subsequent years, after the CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree concerning additional measures to prevent pollution of the Black and Azov basins, also the USSR Council of Ministers decree concerning additional measures to protect the Caspian Sea against pollution, construction of facilities to treat wastewater began on a large scale. Today, 35.5 percent of all wastewater is being treated in 28 of the republic's cities, rayon centers, and urban-type settlements. This quantity is, of course, just a minimum.

The estimated cost of measures up to 1985 designed to prevent wastewater pollution of the Black and Caspian seas is 287 million rubles, yet as of 1 January 1984 only 127.7 million had been spent. Thus, the remainder of the estimated cost is 159.3 million rubles. Of this total, 131.9 million is the responsibility of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and 27.4 million is

the responsibility of USSR ministries and departments sharing in the construction of treatment facilities. It should be pointed out that capital investment limits not exceeding 10 to 12 million rubles are allocated annually for their construction, taking account of share contributions.

Of 13 of the most important treatment facilities that are to be built in accordance with the above-mentioned decrees, only 9 are in existence: in Batumi, Samtredia, Tskhaltubo, and Kutaisi (with biological treatment), and in Gagra-Pitsunda, Poti, and Sukhumi (mechanical treatment). The combined treatment facilities in Gudauta-Novyy Afon and Kobuleti-Ureki-Makharadze have been accepted for operation but are not actually operative to this day, because the construction of the wastewater intake collectors has not been completed. It turns out, then, that on the one hand capital investments have been insufficient, and on the other hand, the builders are not spending all the funds allocated. As a result, completion of the construction of many facilities (Leselidze-Gantiadi, Gul'ripshi-Ochamchira, and Tskhakaya-Gudauta-Novyy Afon) is dragging along; operational completion targets are badly disrupted, and to this day the expansion and remodeling of existing facilities in Chiatura and Zestafoni have not been started.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the client for municipal water line and sewer facilities is the Main Administration of Capital Construction under the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, which is not taking the necessary measures to provide these facilities in good time with the necessary equipment or the necessary technical supervision of the construction. Facilities are turned over for operation on a "temporary layout" basis, with numerous deficiencies which the builders are very slow to take care of. Most of the existing treatment facilities, therefore, do not provide the necessary degree of wastewater treatment. Normal operation is also made difficult because, as a rule, they have been turned over with deviations from the approved project design, and there is practically no author's supervision on the part of the project-planning organization.

What is the main disadvantage in the use of the "temporary layout"? The fact is that the extent to which water and sewer systems are provided with equipment and special automotive transport does not exceed 28 percent of the approved all-union norm. Because of inadequate development of the collector network, the treatment facilities do not carry a full load, so that the operations are loss-making. They do not earn anything but are subsidized by the state. For example, the Abkhazian ASSR receives 250,000 rubles per year, the city of Poti receives 150,000, and so on. Yet in Zestafoni, as in other places, old facilities of inadequate capacity are overloaded.

The only remedy for the situation is to abolish the practice of putting into operation facilities which have been built on a "temporary layout" basis, without automation--that is, it is necessary to get rid of the main reason for their ineffective operation. It is also essential to improve the quality of project-estimate documentation.

Accomplishing these complex technological processes will require qualified specialists with a higher education. By a decision of the republic's higher-

level organs on 17 August 1981, the republic's Gosplan was directed to collaborate with the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services on examining the advisability of organizing a Georgian Polytechnic Institute imeni V. I. Lenin program to train students in the "Rational Utilization of Water Resources and Treatment of Industrial Wastes." This matter has been brought up repeatedly, but it remains unsettled to this day. Meanwhile, cadre understaffing in the operation of water and sewer systems comes to 36.2 percent in the republic.

Wastewater treatment and the project-planning of treatment facilities must be conducted on a scientific basis. Georgia, however, has practically no organization involved in scientific research in the field of municipal services, in particular water supplies and sewer systems. It is essential, in our opinion, to set up an organization to take care of the calculation, project-planning, and operation of water supply and treatment facilities. It may be advisable to convert the Gruzgiprorybnostroy Project Planning Institute to a Scientific-Research Project-Survey Institute and, even more important, return it to the immediate jurisdiction of the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services.

A large contribution toward partial resolution of these problems could be made by the republic's Gosplan and Gossnab by allocating more special automotive transport, machinery, and material-technical supplies for the operation of water and sewer systems, and especially by increasing annual limits of capital investments on the construction of treatment facilities.

Only by improving the quality of the work and putting a firm stop to "temporary layouts," which have certainly caused a lot of trouble in water and sewer system management, can we ensure that this vital sector of housing and municipal services meets today's standards.

6854

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REGIONAL

GEORGIANS FACE PROBLEM OF RIVER POLLUTION

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Medeya Keidiya, senior inspector, Department of Propaganda, GSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection: "Tin Cans Instead of Trout. Many Enterprises and Organizations Continue To Pollute the Lochino"]

[Text] The Lochino is a small left tributary of the Kura. It rises on the southern slopes of the Ialnosi Range, near the village of Norio. The little stream and the lower portion of its gorge form the natural eastern limits of the city of Tbilisi for about 6 or 7 kilometers. It was at this point that we launched our inspection raid.

Gazing upon the waters of the Luchino, and on its banks, one cannot help calling to mind a proverb that is popular among the people: "May you have as much strength as the water." The Lochino does indeed have considerable strength. Nor is it lacking in endurance and patience. Bounding down the mountain, shiny as quicksilver, and full of trout, the little stream changes its aspect before your very eyes: floating in it are tin cans, old automobile tires, and so on. Right here, afoam with various chemicals and effluent from production enterprises, it rushes to join the Kura.

The GSSR Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution to strengthen the protection of small rivers against pollution and make rational use of their resources. Yet the directors of many enterprises in the republic do not consider it necessary to carry out the requirements set forth in it. One example is the Lochino, and its gorge.

As a result of the negligence and irresponsibility of officials of large industrial and economic operations located nearby, in just a few years the little stream and its gorge have been turned into an unsanitary eyesore. These enterprises include the Gruzsel'khomash Plant, the Lilo Construction Materials Combine, the Gruzbytkhim Production Association, Ferroconcrete Structures Plant No 3, Automotive Freight Transport Enterprise No 4, the GSSR Ministry of Light Industry's Experimental-Mechanical Plant, and the Lilo Poultry Plant.

As a result of improper operation of some of the water treatment facilities in the district and the lack of monitoring of them, these facilities have been discharging hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of untreated wastewater into the Lochino every year.

The mechanical treatment facility in the Gruzsel'khomash Plant, which has a capacity of 3,600 cubic meters of wastewater and went into operation in 1966,

has not functioned for 10 to 15 years now. Since it went into operation, wastewater discharges from a number of the plants mentioned above have been hooked up to the treatment facility. When it was just in the hands of the plant alone, it worked, but after the other users hooked up to it--the Lilo Construction Materials Combine, Ferroconcrete Plant No 3, Gruzbytkhim Production Association, and others--the treatment facility went out of commission. Having 10 masters, therefore, the facility in effect has none.

A special place on the "blacklist" of river polluters is the Lilo Construction Materials Combine. A local treatment facility, which would have substantially improved the condition of the Lochino, was supposed to be completed there last year. But it never was. Because the combine's fuel oil operation is not in good technical working order, several tons of oil have been spilled over an area of two hectares, and oil products are getting into the Lochino and into the lower mainline canal of the Samgori Irrigation System.

The same situation has developed in the Ferroconcrete Structures Plant. Still in the beginning stages is the construction of a water recycling system in two rebar shops; it was supposed to be completed in 1983. But how could it have been completed, when the construction was started without the appropriate estimates? Thus, the plant annually discharges tens of thousands of cubic meters of wastewater into the Lochino without any treatment. Over the years, the plant's managers have made the Lochino Gorge into a graveyard of junked ferroconcrete structures. Both the Lilo Poultry Plant and the Experimental-Mechanical Plant of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry lack water treatment facilities.

The situation is no better in Automotive Freight Transport Enterprise No 4 and the petroleum products depot, where improper operation has substantially reduced the effectiveness of local water treatment facilities. The amount of petroleum products in the wastewater discharges of the automotive transport enterprise is many times above the norm. Not counting occasional "salvos" of petroleum products discharged into the Lochino, which are fairly frequent, wastewater discharges from this plant annually carry several tons of petroleum products.

The other day, the board of the GSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection examined the question "Improving the Sanitary Conditions of the Lochino and Its Gorge." It was noted that sanitary conditions there do not meet the requirements of the Georgian SSR Water and Land Code. The board decided to impose administrative penalties on officials of all the above-mentioned enterprises for gross violations of the law.

The imposition of a fine is no doubt an effective measure, but it cannot, of course, help to resolve all the worst problems. One such--possibly the chief one--is that of fundamentally restructuring the thinking of officials of production enterprises. Fortunately, some progress can be noted. For example, the boards of the petroleum depot and the Lilo Poultry Plant have already undertaken to implement specific measures.

Unfortunately, nothing as sensible as this is taking place in the other enterprises. Meanwhile, the Lochino is crying for help.

REGIONAL

TAJIK CP CC BURO ON CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 11 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] At its regular session, the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan, with the participation of the first secretaries of the party obkoms, the representatives of the oblispolkoms, the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms, the representatives of the city rayon party committees subordinate to the republic, the managers and secretaries of the party organizations of the ministries and departments, and the responsible workers of the organizations of the Tajik CP Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the TaSSR Council of Ministers, examined the results of the development of the national economy of the republic in the first 6 months and the measures to increase further the work to fulfill the plan for 1984. K.M. Makhkamov, chairman of the TaSSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report.

It was noted at the session that the labor collectives of the republic, in fulfilling the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the February and April (1984) CPSU Central Committee plenums and the directives of Comrade K.Yu. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and having initiated socialist competition under the leadership of party organizations for a worthy observance of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the TaSSR and the Tajik CP achieved definite successes in the development of the economy, in solving social problems and in raising the standard of living of people.

The semiannual plans for the production and sale of industrial products and for the sale of meat, milk, eggs and wool to the state were overfulfilled, as was the annual plan for the purchase of cocoons. The enterprises of motor vehicle transport, communications and commerce fulfilled the plans for basic indicators. There was an increase in the volume of capital investment assimilated and in the realization of everyday services, labor productivity increased somewhat and there was an improvement in the quality of many types of production.

At the same time, it was shown to the buro that there are serious shortcomings behind the overall positive indicators in the development of several very important sectors of the national economy. The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, and the ministries and departments are not putting sufficient demands on the economic managers for the fulfillment of State plans, and they do not always give a principled assessment of violations of State, labor and production discipline and of instances of mismanagement and waste.

There are still many enterprises in industry that are not fulfilling the planned tasks for the volume of production and for shipments of products. The shift coefficient, the return on investment and production quality are low. There has been a reduction in the rate of production. Socialist obligations for an above-plan increase in labor productivity by 1.1 percent and for an additional reduction of 0.5 percent in the production cost are not being fulfilled as they should be.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro noted the presence of serious shortcomings in capital construction. The managers of construction ministries and departments were subjected to sharp criticism. According to basic indicators, builders did not fulfill the plans for the first half year. The indicators were particularly low in the subdivisions of the TaSSR Ministry of Construction (E.N. Mikirtychev), of the trust "Tadzhikgidroenergostroy" [Tajik Hydroelectric Energy Construction] (S.N. Niyazov), and "Glavtadzhikvodstroy" [Tajik Main Administration of Water Construction] (I.Ye. Kim). As before, there is a dispersion of strength and resources on numerous construction projects, and the quality of work is low. Production capacities and projects for social and cultural services are not put into operation on time. The training and improvement of the skills of the workers of the leading construction specialties are carried on poorly.

The buro session analyzed in detail the situation in the agroindustrial complex [APK]. It was noted that agriculture is only slowly being converted to the intensive path of development. In a significant number of farms, output of animal husbandry products declined compared with last year's level. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses did not fulfill the semiannual plans for the sale of meat and milk to the State. The harvest and sale of grain to the State and the procurement of fodder, vegetables and fruits are being conducted slowly. At a number of farms, there was a reduction in the number of head of livestock and poultry and there was a large cattle plague. Irrigated lands, labor resources and equipment are still being utilized inefficiently. The session noted serious deficiencies in the work of the commission of the TaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium on APK questions, especially in the most important and long-term problems in the development of APK sectors.

Deficiencies in the work of supply authorities and enterprises and organizations of transport, communications, commerce, public utilities and personal services to the population have not been fully eliminated.

It was emphasized that in the sectors of the national economy there is still insufficient improvement in the extent of organization and in labor, technological and planning discipline. Advanced experience is disseminated slowly and there are significant losses of working time, especially because of unauthorized absences from work, downtime and absences from work with the approval of the administration.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro obligated the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, the ministries and departments, the economic managers and the trade union and komсомol authorities to eliminate existing shortcomings and to take exhaustive measures for the unconditional fulfillment of annual plans and obligations by all sectors of the republic's economy.

The managers of the ministries and departments, associations and enterprises must take additional measures for a fuller workload on production capacities and for growth in labor productivity and a reduction in the production cost, especially through the introduction of the brigade form of organizing and paying for labor, through stronger discipline and an increase in order and the extent of organization.

The attention of the managers of ministries and departments as well as of contractors and customers was directed to the sluggishness shown in eliminating deficiencies in capital construction and to the unsatisfactory organization of work at many particularly important projects. The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro demanded that they take decisive measures for a fundamental improvement in this very important sector of the national economy, above all in the creation of a base and in training personnel.

The local party and soviet authorities were entrusted with increasing control to ensure strict observance of the deadlines for the introduction of production capacities, housing, schools, vocational and technical schools, children's pre-school facilities and other projects involving social and cultural services. They were also tasked with being stern and firm in taking to account those managers who are not providing for the fulfillment of plans.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro demanded of party and soviet authorities and the managers and specialists of ministries and departments included in the APK that they attain the fulfillment of the plans by every kolkhoz and sovkhov and that they intensify the work to procure fodder, to bring in the harvest, to provide for measures for irrigating and caring for cotton and corn and to prepare cotton-cleaning and storage plants for their work. It is essential to ensure smooth and coordinated work by kolkhozes and sovkhovs and their partners to fulfill the plans and socialist obligations for 1984 for all types of production in horticulture and animal husbandry.

Particular attention was directed to the necessity of increasing the role of science in solving production tasks. It is important for it to make a greater contribution to strengthening the economy.

Tasks were established for a fundamental improvement in the transport of national economic freight and passengers and in the search for additional opportunities for the unconditional implementation of the tasks in retail commodity turnover and in the volume of personal and municipal services.

The party committees and the soviet, trade-union and komsomol authorities were entrusted with activating the socialist competition of labor collectives for a worthy observance of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the TaSSR and the Tajik CP. They were also tasked with increasing the role and responsibility of primary party, trade-union and komsomol organizations in the training of people in the spirit of high demands and responsibility for the affairs of the collective and for achieving high production indicators.

The session of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro examined measures to increase the production of national consumer goods and to improve their quality in accordance with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee, the instructions of

Comrade K.Yu. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the tasks resulting from the work of the All-Union Conference on Questions of Consumer Goods Production. T.M. Mirhalikov, secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, presented some information on this question.

It was noted that so far in the 5-year plan, the volume of production of national consumer goods exceeds the established goal by almost 3 percent, production of a significant number of new articles has been assimilated, and the quality of the goods has improved.

At the same time, the reserves and possibilities for increasing the production of national consumer goods are not being utilized fully at a number of places. Industrial ministries and departments of the republic, and associations and enterprises subordinate to the union are not as persistent as they should be in increasing production efficiency, in seeking growth in labor productivity and in introducing the brigade form of organizing labor. A large number of products of low quality are entering into commerce. Local soviets of people's deputies are not sufficiently concerned about the production of mass-consumption goods at enterprises, whatever their administrative subordination, and about improvement in trade and personal services to the population.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro obligated party, soviet and trade-union organizations, as well as the ministries and departments of the republic and the associations and enterprises subordinate to the union to attain an unconditional implementation of the tasks to produce national consumer goods and the tasks involving the retail goods turnover and the volume of personal services performed by each labor collective of these sectors.

The TaSSR Gosplan, the corresponding ministries and departments, and the ispolkoms of the local soviets were entrusted with concentrating their attention on providing for a faster rate of development of the production of national consumer goods and the area of services and on a greater saturation of the market with diverse and good-quality mass consumption goods.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms were shown the necessity of strengthening the leadership of the primary party organizations of the enterprises of industry, commerce and personal services and of increasing their role and responsibility in strengthening discipline and the level of organization and in organizing political and educational work.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro confirmed the measures to put into effect the instructions of the All-Union Conference on Questions of the Production of National Consumer Goods.

Also examined at the session of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro were several other questions concerning the social and economic life of the republic.

R.N. Nabiyeu, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, spoke on the questions under discussion at the buro session.

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN CP CC MEETS, DISCUSSES SOCIAL-ECONOMIC ISSUES

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has considered the question on the work of the Akhaltsikhskiy Raykom in further strengthening socialist labor discipline and raising responsibility of personnel for assigned work in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and speeches by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee noted that the raykom and the rayispolkom are working without proper consideration of perspective and are solving without sufficient depth the tasks facing them as regards ensuring proper discipline in labor collectives and raising responsibility of personnel for assigned work. The level of wasted working time is high in the rayon. The industry is not producing goods with state mark of quality, introduces progressive forms of labor organization and wages slowly and a considerable number of enterprises are not fulfilling their contractual commitments, and kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not coping with their tasks for the output of basic kinds of agricultural products and plans for their sale to the state.

The Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the Akhaltsikhskiy Raykom, soviet, economic and public organs, primary party organizations and supervisors of organizations, enterprises and agro-industrial complex of the rayon to fundamentally reorganize work as regards strengthening discipline and raising demanding nature to personnel for unswerving fulfillment of responsibilities placed on them, to intensify the struggle against all sort of negative phenomena, to organize proper state order in all links of the national economic mechanism and to achieve unconditional fulfillment of planned tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan and socialist pledges. After hearing a report by Comrade T. Sh. Kevkhishvili, first secretary of the Signakhskiy Raykom of the Georgian Communist Party, on the work being conducted to overcome serious difficulties in the development of viticulture and fulfillment of the grapes output plan, the Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee instructed the GSSR State Committee of Agricultural Production to adopt urgent measures for solving the problems facing the agro-industrial complex of the rayon.

The meeting heard a report by Comrade N. A. Chitanava, first deputy chairman of the GSSR Council of Ministers, on measures being adopted for the purpose of raising the level of economic work and improving the financial situation of the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry and, first of all, of canning industry enterprises.

The GSSR Council of Ministers and corresponding ministries and departments were ordered to regularly examine the questions connected with processing and marketing fruit and vegetable products, improving their quality and completely eliminating above-norm surpluses in order to ensure improvement in the sector's financial situation.

The Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee discussed the work being conducted by the GSSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products aimed at strengthening state discipline. The adopted resolution points to the necessity of technical reequipping of the sector, adopting decisive measures aimed at developing keen, uncompromising struggle against all sort of negative phenomena and putting a stop to facts of illegal trade in petroleum products.

The leadership of the state committee together with the Trade Unions Council of Georgia and corresponding scientific research institutes were instructed to develop and implement measures aimed at introducing progressive brigade forms of labor organization at projects of the sector.

After approving the activity of the Oktyabrskiy Raykom of the Georgian Communist Party in organizing and checking performance in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Georgian Communist Party Congress, the Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee noted that as a result of improved style, forms and methods of work aimed at unconditional fulfillment of instructions of directive organs and adopted decisions and improved fulfillment discipline of personnel, it was possible to achieve appreciable changes for the better in the realization of national economic plans and adopted socialist pledges.

The Tbilisi Gorkom of the Georgian Communist Party and the Tbilisi Gorispolkom were instructed that in developing the plan for socioeconomic development of Tbilisi City for the 12th Five-Year Plan to provide for measures ensuring accelerated development of Oktyabrskiy Rayon.

A resolution of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the GSSR Council of Ministers was adopted "On Measures for Further Improvement in the Training of Journalist Personnel of the Republic and Improvement of Their Work and Living Conditions in the Light of the Decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee."

The Secretariat of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee made a strict appraisal of the facts of delivery of poor quality cabbage to the all-union fund by farms of Gardabanskiy Rayon and demanded from the raykom and the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry of the republic to adopt all necessary measures for preventing similar phenomena in the future.

A meeting of the secretariat discussed the progress of preparations for accountability and elections in organizations of Georgia's consumer cooperatives in the light of the demands by the CPSU Central Committee for improving trade services to the rural population and increasing procurement and processing of agricultural production.

The Secretariat of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee outlined measures for mobilizing cooperative workers in the struggle for further raising the system's efficiency and their responsibility for unconditional realization of the tasks set before the organs of (Tsekavshiri) and for strengthening the struggle against all sort of negative phenomena.

The meeting of the buro and the secretariat also discussed some other questions of the republic's socioeconomic life.

9817

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REGIONAL

PROBLEMS OF NEW TECHNOLOGY IN WORKPLACE EXAMINED IN GEORGIA

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jul 84 pp 2-3

[Article by Georgiy Malashkhiya, department head, NIIEPU, GSSR Gosplan: "New Technology: Problems of Adoption"]

[Text] In order to make the fullest possible use of the capabilities of scientific-technical progress and yield the appropriate effect in enterprises and associations, it is essential to implement certain economic and organizational measures to perfect the economic mechanism.

During his meeting with workers at the Moscow Serp i Molot Metallurgy Plant, Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted the special importance, at the present stage, of the technical retooling of sectors, the adoption of the latest achievements of science and advanced experience. Our head of state emphasized that this is an insistent demand of the times, an imperative requirement, one might say, of the era.

But how do things stand in this republic with regard to the practical adoption of scientific and technological advances? In examining problems of adopting new technology in the national economy, we must certainly say something at the outset concerning the crucial role played by the measures to be undertaken to intensify and enhance production effectiveness. Every year, Georgia's national economy adopts thousands of scientific-technical measures yielding a substantial economic and social effect.

Nevertheless, the capabilities of scientific-technical progress are not yet being fully utilized. Time will not wait, and many effective innovations have yet to be adopted. The process of adopting and assimilating advanced technologies and techniques sometimes drags on too long, and the scale of their application is too small. The scientific-technical level of certain enterprises is at a standstill rather than rising.

What are the factors holding back the adoption and dissemination of innovations? What are the ways to accelerate scientific-technical progress in industry?

Innovation Brings...Loss

The paradox is that sometimes advanced technology that is advantageous in terms of general results of application fails to catch the attention of some

production workers and even encounters resistance and disdain. This, naturally, slows down technical progress, reduces its effectiveness, and inflicts considerable losses on the national economy.

According to information from the statistical organs, about 12 percent of all planned measures in scientific-technical progress in the republic were not carried out, and 6.6 percent were only partially carried out. As a rule, new technology plans are not carried out as well as other plans.

But it is more than just a matter of failure to fulfill these plans. Frequently, in the enterprises and associations, they do not match the capabilities and tasks of technical and organizational development and fail to yield substantial advances in this regard. About one out of every three enterprises in the republic's industry is adopting measures on new technology. On the average, a single enterprise's outlays on new technology come to 50,000 to 70,000 rubles, while the economic effect is 50,000 to 55,000 rubles per year. So far, however, about one-third of the scientific applications are being adopted.

It is logical to conclude from this that the scale of efforts to adopt new technology in our industry is as yet inadequate, and the link between science and production is too weak. Matters are even worse in agriculture, transport, communications, and so on.

Failure to undertake timely measures with regard to the creation, adoption, and assimilation of new technology costs the national economy tens of millions of rubles. This is why it is necessary to sound the alarm about weak adoption and incomplete utilization of new technology.

Why the Paradox?

Before answering this question, something needs to be said concerning the objective character of contradictions in scientific-technical progress. The fact is that science and technology do not, in general, develop equally; first one and then the other sector takes the lead. Major discoveries and inventions occur first in one and then the other, quite suddenly as a rule, and this brings about disproportions with regard to the technical level between particular sectors of production and even subunits in an enterprise, thus disrupting the harmony between individual directions in technical development. A discrepancy arises between innovations and the existing material-technical base, the social forms of organization of production, and procedures of planning and administration. Extreme conditions in production and in the assimilation of new technology, in many cases, bring about a temporary decline in an enterprise's performance, an increase in outlays on production, and restricted growth in output and profits....

The effectiveness of various directions in scientific-technical progress is uneven, thus worsening the discrepancy between particular directions in technological development. Conservative thinking on the part of certain managers and executives, and difficulties in overcoming habits and in adapting to new

developments, create obstacles in the implementation of scientific-technical measures. Sometimes, new technology proves to be ecologically incompatible (because of negative impact), making it unsuitable.... The objective contradictions in scientific-technical progress are compounded by the addition of subjective circumstances relating to the quality of the work of enterprise managers and other cadres, also shortcomings in the economic mechanism. The result is a number of factors which restrict and slow down the adoption of new technology.

Among the most widespread and fundamental factors are those that are due to shortcomings in the economic mechanism--planning, incentives, and organization of efforts to apply progressive measures.... They include: insufficiency of plan indicators and functions of existing indicators of technical development for the administration of activities and assessments of work results; the lack of flexible planning to take account of conditions of adopting innovations; an inadequate system of incentives, motivation, and responsibility for the adoption of new technology to provide a direct link between remuneration for labor and the quality and results of the work in this regard; the fact that the degree of independence of the enterprises does not guarantee maximum initiative on their part; difficulties in acquiring equipment, raw materials, and other material resources, as well as financial support; inadequate links with scientific, project-design, and project-technological organization; the insufficiency of special links in the enterprises and associations to administer scientific-technical progress, also experimental bases and backup capacity; the fact that managers often lack appropriate links of the necessary competence, efficiency, responsibility, resourcefulness, and initiative; and workers' negligence toward tasks of scientific-technical development....

Some of these factors are difficult to overcome, while others require very little effort. Some may be eliminated by the enterprises and associations; other require improvement of the economic and organizational levers as well as large-scale measures outside the economic framework [vneekonomicheskimi meryami].

The enterprises and associations are the main links where problems of adopting scientific-technical measures are dealt with and where the results of the adoption are reflected most of all. Therefore, they must be the primary focus of efforts to create favorable conditions for the rapid and extensive adoption of technical and organizational innovations.

Measures Economic...

The economic mechanism is the main means of ensuring timely and broad practical adoption of measures with regard to perfecting technology, equipment, and organization of advanced experience. The levers of the present economic mechanism do not adequately fulfill this function. Hence the task of perfecting the economic and organizational components of the administration of scientific-technical progress. It must be pointed out, moreover, that these measures can be carried out without (or with very small) expenditures and even provide the kind of effect that cannot be attained by technical means.

Last year the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decrees "Measures To Accelerate Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy" and "Additional Measures To Expand the Rights of Production Associations (Enterprises) of Industry in Planning and Economic Activities and Enhance Their Responsibility for the Results of the Work." Materials of the Georgian CP Central Committee plenums also call for resolving a number of problems with regard to perfecting the planned administration of scientific-technical progress.

Studies of the status of adoption of new technology and reasons why it is going so slowly, conducted in NIIEPU under GSSR Gosplan, convince us of the necessity of additional measures to promote a substantial acceleration and expansion of the application of scientific-technical advances and enhance their effectiveness.

This especially requires improved planning. Plan indicators must serve as the guiding lever. At present, planning does not make use of generalizing indicators of the technical and organizational level, indicators which should be used on par with economic indicators in drawing up the plan and assessing the performance of enterprises and associations. The decisive role is assigned to indicators of economic development, which is correct, but parameters of technical development should also be in the forefront, for without this it is impossible to achieve high economic results. But they are not getting this kind of attention. People are less concerned for plans of technical progress than for others, and there is no direct economic lever for strengthening the link between science and production.

What is needed is a reproduction [vosproizvodstvennyy] approach in which economic and scientific-technical development are planned as a unified process, each of which is assigned equal importance. The long-range interests of enterprises require that their efforts be evaluated not only in terms of economic results but also in terms of technical development each year. It seems only reasonable, therefore, for the annual plans of enterprises and associations to include, as generalizing indicators, such indicators as the pace of scientific-technical progress, the science-to-labor ratio [naukovooruzhennost'], and the annual economic effect (the latter is now included in the five-year plan). This is demanded by the logic of development and the task of laying the foundations for dealing with the strategic tasks of tomorrow.

Planning should also incorporate the principle of flexibility. During the period of adopting and assimilating new technology, in particular, if it involves temporary difficulties in the enterprises and associations, in particular reducing their ability to produce goods, earn a profit, boost labor productivity, and keep down costs and so forth--all of this must be taken into account in the plans of that period in accordance with the impact of the assimilation process. Subsequently, the plan's indicators will be raised to the level necessary to make up for the previous, diminished results and ensure additional effect.

In this way it will be possible to eliminate situations in which concern for fulfilling tough plans with regard to economic indicators make it difficult to focus the necessary attention on technical progress.

It is also advisable to give enterprises and associations the right to withdraw certain product items from production prior to certification or reduce their output during the planning period in consultation with consumers--and all this, of course, without diminishing the overall results of performance and contributions to the desired economic results....

Stronger incentives and greater motivation on the part of production collectives to adopt new technology can provide a new stimulus to accelerated and expanded technological process in industry. Wages should perform the main incentive function, and they should be determined--for all categories of workers, including engineering-technical personnel--in strict accordance with the results of the work overall and, in particular, the matter of technical development. This should serve to eliminate any permanence of wages not related to changes in results of the labor. What is involved here is implementation of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning the necessity of "perfecting the system of material incentive on the basis of the concrete contribution of each labor collective and individual worker to the results that are achieved."

Flexibility in wages can be used to strengthen motivation to improve work results, enhance responsibility, and eliminate wage leveling.

Flexibility in labor incentives should also be manifested in taking into account, when necessary, extreme conditions during the assimilation period, in particular when determining normatives for the formation of the wage fund as well as economic incentive funds. Labor remuneration during that period should be structured so that the adoption process does not diminish the collective's material motivation or make the assimilation process disadvantageous. It should be kept in mind that, assuming successful implementation of scientific-technical measures, temporarily higher costs of maintaining incentives at the previous level will be made up out of special funds and with credit, which are to be compensated, after the assimilation, by the high effect of the measures.

Obligatory inclusion of the pace of scientific-technical and organizational progress in the system can serve as another important condition for stimulating the adoption of new technology and improving organization. This could strengthen the regulating role of this indicator.

Bonuses could play an additional role in stimulating new technology efforts in this system.

The production collective should make broader use of its rights in matters of determining the specific forms and dimensions of incentives for high achievements in labor, including efforts in the field of technical and organizational development. More consideration should be given to increasing the production of consumer goods, increases in which should be linked to increased wages and

bonuses, for this constitutes a condition of the feasibility of increasing worker' earnings and providing them with goods.

The mobilization of forces to accelerate and expand the adoption of innovations requires, in addition to the application of incentives, the strengthening of responsibility, because incentives do not exert an effective influence on everyone. Where efforts in scientific-technical progress are inadequate, in addition to reducing the wages of workers who are responsible for technical and organizational development it is advisable to take account of the practical results of their work during certification and transfer to a less responsible position persons who lack initiative and fail to make use of all the capabilities of technical development.

Collectives must bear more responsibility for making up losses to the state due to goods that remain unsold because of their quality, also payment for losses due to failure to utilize (or low-quality utilization of) new technology.

It is advisable to introduce certification of enterprises on the basis of their technical-economic level and to assign them to the appropriate categories on the basis of the certification.

Acceleration and expansion of the adoption of new technology require the strengthening of special services for scientific-technical administration in the enterprises and associations, the formation of new organizational links within the limits of normative ratios of outlays on purely productive and administrative operations. In particular, it is advisable for enterprises and associations to have the post of deputy chief engineer for scientific-technical progress and a department for the analysis and forecasting of the technical-economic level of production and output, including a group dealing with economic validation of new measures.

It is also essential to set up temporary creative groups consisting of scientific workers and specialists, with the appropriate incentives, and to enlist the base laboratories of VUZes and scientific-research institutes to work out topical problems of technical and organizational progress, bring rationalization proposals and inventions to completion, and promote the technical creativity of the workers.

The experimental shops should have a special group of highly qualified workers and specialists dealing with the assimilation of new technology and reserve facilities.

Enterprises and associations must be given more independence in dealing with problems of the organizational structure of scientific-technical administration.

In the matter of accelerating and expanding the adoption of scientific-technical and organizational innovations, much depends on improving the financing of the measures. It is advisable that enterprises and associations create their own science and technology development funds, extend the possibilities

of using bank credit, and make freer use, as necessity dictates, of capital repairs funds and other resources for technical development and report to higher-level organs only on the results of their application.

...And Measures Noneconomic

The vigorousness of efforts in matters of scientific-technical progress in the enterprises and associations does not depend on economic factors alone. They cannot guarantee complete success. Social forms of control, political-indoctrinational, cultural-educational, and agitation-propaganda work, also, when necessary, administrative measures, must be used more extensively as auxiliaries. As was mentioned at the recent republic assembly of the ideological aktiv, economic propaganda should be directed primarily toward concrete results of improving the national economy.

In short, improving the adoption of scientific-technical and organizational measures opens up broad prospects for questing and initiative.

The various economic and organizational measures proposed above represent the fruits of scientific questing. Preparing conditions for their application in practice will, of course, require testing them experimentally, working them out and refining them. It is clear, however, that the possibilities of scientific-technical progress must be utilized more effectively.

6854

CSO: 1830/569

REGIONAL

UZBEK CP CC BURO ON CONSUMER GOODS, GAZLI EARTHQUAKE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At its regular session, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro examined the matter of the course of implementation of the decisions previously made on questions of increasing the production of consumer goods and improving their quality and assortment. During 1983 and the first 6 months of this year, 36 new enterprises were put into operation, a large number of operational enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes were brought into the production of articles of mass demand, and a number of new technological processes and modern pieces of equipment were introduced. Goods valued at \$337 million in retail prices were produced above plan. Compared with the corresponding period of last year, output from local resources increased by a factor of 1.3. About 2,000 kinds of products are issued with the State emblem of quality. At the same time, the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro noted that some party and soviet authorities, ministries and departments are performing inadequate organizational work in the collectives to utilize the existing reserves and opportunities for increasing the production of high-quality consumer items. The task was established of being more persistent in seeking a fundamental improvement in the quality of goods, an increase in their assortment, and greater responsibility of personnel in satisfying the demands of the population for essential items.

There was discussion of the situation in regard to the elimination of the results of the earthquake in the city of Gazli: As of 1 July, R6.9 million in construction and assembly work had been performed here, and 26,500 square meters of housing space as well as a hospital, a polyclinic and three kindergartens had been put into operation. In the decree that was passed, mention is made of the slow pace of reconstruction work and it is planned to increase the rate of construction of production projects, engineering communications and housing, to improve their quality and to attract additional labor and material-technical resources. In this connection, specific instructions were given to Bukharskiy Obkom, Soyuzuzbekgazprom VPO [All-Union Production Association] Glavredazneftegazstroy, and the ministries and department of the republic.

Also examined at the meeting of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro were some other questions of party guidance of economic and cultural construction.

9746

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REGIONAL

UZBEK ECONOMIST ON EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS, RIVER DIVERSION

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by P. Savchenko, director of the Scientific-Research Economic Institute under the Uzbek SSR Gosplan and doctor of economic sciences: "Topical Problems of the Region"]

[Text] The workers of the republic are observing the 60th anniversary of the Uzbek SSR and the Communist Party of Uzbekistan with great accomplishments in all directions of communist construction. With the help of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, a powerful economic potential has been created, the basis of which is the many sectors of industry and socialist agriculture.

Science is making a significant contribution to the social, economic and cultural transformations. But at the stage of mature socialism, conditions make it essential to carry out a more comprehensive investigation of a number of problems of an applied nature. Important among them are problems of intensification and increasing labor productivity in public production, accelerating scientific and technical progress, equalizing the levels of economic and social development of oblasts, formation of territorial production and agro-industrial complexes, and the solving of the food and energy programs. In the present demographic situation what is especially necessary is an in-depth solution to the problems of population employment and improvement in the working conditions and the workers' living standard."

Many of these problems received their scientific foundation in "The Cycle of Works in the Study of Regional Problems of the Social and Economic Development of Soviet Uzbekistan Within the Unified National Economic Complex of the Country," presented by the presidium of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences for the competition for the 1984 USSR State Prize. In this work, the place and role of Uzbekistan in the unified national economic system of the country is investigated, and not only are theoretical questions examined but practical recommendations are given for improving the economic ties between industry and agriculture and for increasing specialization and cooperation.

A special place is taken up by the analyses of questions of the economic efficiency of diverting part of the flow of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and the environmental effects of the man-made creation of more desert-like conditions near the Aral Sea. These scientific studies were the basis for justifying the construction of the countrys' largest hydrotechnical installations, called upon to solve in a fundamental way the problems of agricultural

and industrial production, to increase the water supply of cities, rayons and villages, and to carry out the systematic improvement of the sanitary conditions of the basins of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers and the Aral Sea.

It should be noted that the indicated studies were carried out with the close cooperation of the councils for the study of productive forces of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Gosplan and of the institutes for problems of water resources and geography of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Particular interest from the point of view of the formation of future development plans for the national economy of the republic is produced by studies carried out on questions involving the formation and distribution of useful minerals and the organization of industrial complexes of the mining industry--essential questions in increasing the republic's contribution to the all-Union fund. The studies include clear justification and recommendations for the economic assimilation of the republic's mountain and desert territories with their multitude of natural and climatic conditions, energy and mineral resources, rock products, plant and animal world, etc.

To an enormous degree, the successful resolution of the social and economic tasks established by the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee depends upon the transition of the republic's economy to the intensive path of development. The most topical problems of the region are seen precisely in this key element in the cycle of work. Means are shown for more effective use of the possibilities of scientific and technical progress, re-equipping and reconstructing enterprises, improvement in working conditions, elimination of difficult and monotonous jobs, improvement in environmental protection, etc. In short, the collective labor of many scientists is of great importance for science and the national economy. And that gives reason to propose that the cycle of work presented by the presidium of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and its collective of authors are worthy candidates for the USSR State Prize.

9746

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REGIONAL

ATTENTION TO YOUTH NEEDED TO SLOW MIGRATION FROM VILLAGES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Sitnikov in the column "Reflections of a Publicist":
"Rural Neighborliness"]

[Text] I often remember how our villagers gathered with wooden hammer-smoothers to "erect a stove" for a neighbor. It was both collective work and enjoyable contact. And in the center was the skillful expert, my grandfather Vasil'y Fadeyevich, who could "make up" a curved piece, the most important part, where the stove crown must be.

The traditions of cooperative work are alive in many villages in the Vyatskiye area. I was told of such a case in the settlement of Lebyazhye. Retired teacher Sergey Il'ich Uskov, who lived in the village, got sick. His wife Mariya Vasil'yevna, also a retired teacher, had to go with him to the hospital. Their house, however, did not remain without supervision. The Uskovs' neighbors and their former students fed the rabbits and chickens, fired the stove, and in the spring they plowed the garden, planted potatoes, and brought poles for a fence.

This is a typical case, in general. Rural society always has practiced and still practices, mutual assistance. A person could call on his neighbors from all over the village not only to erect a new stove, but also to put up a house. Things that cannot be done by a single person can easily be done collectively. It is managed this way everywhere, but people, generous souls, always bring something of their own to folk customs. For example, my good friend Ivan Vasil'yevich Sharapov, a pensioner, made rakes and knives, sharpened axes, and repaired fence enclosures for free in his village of Zachernushka. And elderly ladies (there were nine of them in Zachernushka) helped him around the house and collectively planted potatoes.

However, it is necessary to look truth in the eye: In the modern-day village, negative trends are noticable. Actually, they existed previously. I am speaking of the "gift," which is now almost an obligatory acknowledgement of a service. And it is for good reason that in some localities an elderly lady buys several bottles of vodka with her pension.

"What else?" she explains the purchase. "My firewood is still not sawed; my fence fell down. The wood cutter needs it, the driver needs it, and the carpenter needs it...."

If you don't give [anything], the next time don't even try to ask for help. Such a moonlighter is naturally ashamed to take money from an elderly woman neighbor, but takes a bottle with great pleasure, and he even toasts her health and assures her that he is a reliable person always ready to help willingly. He is a great benefactor, isn't he! For such a person, people who need help are the most accessible place to "get himself drinks" without diminishing his family budget.

It would appear that the elderly ladies are to blame in that they offer drinks to these moonlighters, but where can they turn if a village, especially far from the center of the farm, does not provide that area of service. And how to fight against such disorder in rural life? Mainly, of course, with the organization of personal services. For example, on Neman Kolkhoz, Stolbtsovskiy Rayon, Minsk Oblast, the public services combine has already been operating successfully for 10 years. It has a staff of 30 people. They are mainly pensioners. Take note, pensioners! That means that people are not diverted from basic production. This enterprise is profitable. Its workers plow gardens, build stoves, and construct farm structures. In general, everything in and around the house is done. And at acceptable prices.

But even there it is impossible to manage without the neighbors' help: You cannot run to the combine for every trivial detail. They cannot do everything there, but all kinds of experts can be found in the village, and there is great benefit when an exchange of abilities and skills is organized within the village: Someone will whet a scythe for someone else, a second will teach basket-weaving, and a third will present you with pies. What should be done so that traditions of rural neighborliness would be further developed and bad tendencies would die away and meet opposition? This is a complicated problem. I will touch on only one of its aspects here.

In my opinion, much depends on the moral-psychological climate that is established in a village and in sovkhos or kolkhoz settlement. You would probably agree with me if I say that folk customs of unselfish joint work for society's benefit are consolidated and continued by public subbotniks. But they do not often take place, and there are very many kinds of work that are difficult to implement by the usual means. That is why, at the Kirovskaya Meadow-Marsh Experimental Station, which is directed by Irina Aleksandrovna Vertogradskaya, according to the decision of a meeting of the collective, a public hour was introduced: Every day here part of the collective works on civic improvements for their settlement, nurse school, or territory adjoining the station.

At the station they understand very well that public initiatives are adopted easily and naturally in places where people feel as if they are in charge. Here in particular they introduced such an innovation. Vertogradskaya does not always conduct the short planning meeting, rather a shift "director" goes. This role is taken in turn by managers of each shop: the garage chief,

the chief accountant, the complex chief, and the chief agronomist. Everyone who has been a shift director becomes closer to and understands better everything done in the collective.

People of different age groups--to use the language of sociologists--live in the village and each of them has his own needs and aspirations. It is understandable that your people have different aspirations than those of middle-aged people. It is not enough for a young person to fill his leisure time with television. He needs communication with his peers and activities appropriate for his age and energy. Incidentally, the future relations of the villagers--whether they become good friends or remain strangers--depend greatly on how youth is spent.

Even seemingly small innovations unite youth and noticeably raise the prestige of rural life. Graduates of secondary schools who remain on kolkhozes and sovkhoses told me enthusiastically that they have a lighted ski run in Yaransk and Verkhoshizhemye. There are grounds for track and field sports, weight-lifting, and gymnastics at Kiknur Settlement under the management of Arkadiy Fedorovich Olenov, and partly because of this young men are especially willing to remain at the settlement. Young women of Put' Lenina Kolkhoz, Kotelnichskiy Rayon of our Korov Oblast are attracted to their native village by, among other things, the fact that they have a boat dock at the pond and also that there are plans to build an athletic complex.

So far these cases are not very common. One can also encounter direct lack of consideration toward youth. Once a party official spoke in my presence with young specialists who had decided to leave the village.

"Why are you planning to leave?" he asked.

"I haven't danced for a whole year!" exclaimed one of the girls.

There was so much despair and yearning in her voice that I understood: It is a true tragedy for a young person when there is no opportunity to dance and be together with her peers.

In a word, it is necessary to put life into rural houses of culture and clubs; many of them have been built, but in many cases they have not become centers uniting villagers beyond the sphere of their work. At the same time, it would be incorrect to rely only on cultural-educational workers. In my opinion, not only they, but also secretaries of party and Komsomol organizations can be leaders in cultural-educational work. Specialists, kolkhoz chairmen, and sovkhos directors have no right to stay away from a club. However, there are leaders who consider it appropriate to appear at a club only in the role of a meeting leader or speaker. Even secretaries of Komsomol organizations do not often attend dances; it is not respectable, they say. I like Grigoriy Maksimovich Yurin, Pobeda Kolkhoz chairman, Falenskiy Rayon. In spite of many business concerns, he finds the time to attend chorus rehearsals and teaches social sciences in school. His example also inspires the chief specialists; they also participate in chorus practices, and the party committee secretary sings.

In my opinion, deciding the important questions of the concentration and specialization of agriculture hastily and unjustifiably, the managers of many farms unthinkingly eliminated for nothing local occupations that were not only agricultural production, but also varied a rural resident's leisure time, elevated his soul, and helped introduce children to work from their early years. For example, I mean such areas that are now optional such as bee-keeping, horse-breeding, and pond farming. In places where horses have been kept, there are ponds, and people are engaged in bee-keeping, the people's life is richer and their range of interests is more varied.

The traditions of rural mutual assistance and rural contact are gaining strength, and that process contributes a great deal to the reorganization of a nonchernozem village, helps to curtail migration, and gives a special strength to attachment to native places. The degree of the good or bad attitude of a particular rural collective obviously cannot be measured by percentages, but this degree is quickly and correctly determined by each person. It is not difficult to observe the direct and spontaneous dependence between people's attitude and production matters.

12478

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REGIONAL

ISSUES OF GEORGIAN CONFERENCE ON CRIME EXAMINED

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Georgian Telegraphy Agency (Gruzinform): "Strengthen Party Influence on the Work of Law Protection Organs"]

[Text] A conference held in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee was devoted to the work results in strengthening legality and law and order in the republic during the first half of the year.

The conference, which was attended by supervisors of party, soviet and law protection organs, has noted that on the one hand, as a result of the measures being adopted, the process of improvement in the operational situation is continuing in the republic as a whole. The number of crimes is being reduced, including grave ones. The number of murder attempts, thefts, robberies and motor vehicle thefts has declined. Effectiveness of the struggle against drug addiction, hooliganism and speculation has been raised somewhat and indexes of the work results in preventing violations of the law among minors have improved.

As a whole a stable situation has developed in Tbilisi, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast. The situation in the Abkhaz ASSR has also improved.

But on the other hand there was no success in bringing about a decisive turning point in putting a stop to some negative tendencies. As before, the number of such crimes against individuals as premeditated murders, rapes and instances of inflicting grave bodily harm is not being reduced. The number of thefts of state property is growing. The situation in motor vehicle transportation has become seriously aggravated. These are very important directions of law protection activity.

It is necessary, the participants stressed, to analyze once again the situation in every city and every rayon, to delve into the reasons why one or another problem is still not being solved completely and to find more effective ways for intensifying the entire complex of precautionary-preventive measures. Party, soviet and law protection organs, with consideration of a particular operational situation, must outline a specific program of activity for the immediate months ahead, for the second half of the year. Law protection activity must be conducted extremely concretely everywhere and bear an offensive character. In the

meantime some raykoms, gorkoms, gorispolkoms and administrative organs are losing the initiative, manage the situation poorly and do not conduct intensive prevention of crime. Among them are Ambrolaurskiy, Tetrtskaroytskiy, Adigenskiy, Onskiy, Tsagerskiy, Kazbegskiy, Tsulukidzevskiy, Chokhataurskiy and Mayakovskiy rayons, Rayon imeni 26 Kommissary of Tbilisi City and the cities of Chiatura and Tskhinvali.

Specific examples of what results from the relaxation of control over the activity of local administrative organs were described at the conference. Thus, the level of crime has considerably increased in Tsiteltskaroytskiy Rayon this year, the number of thefts of citizens' personal property and state property and of rapes also increased. Moreover, a simply unprecedented fact of violation of socialist legality was recently uncovered in a people's court, for which judge Comrade Gonashvili was recalled ahead of time. Rayon public prosecutor Comrade Lukhashvili, who has failed to ensure proper supervision over legality in the people's court, was released from the occupied position.

However, a question comes to mind: Is it not too often that administrative organs of the republic and some party committees display strictness and adherence to principal only after one or another committed fact? Naturally, the most strict measures of punishment must be adopted against guilty workers, but it is of no lesser importance to develop such a system of control over subordinate organs which would exclude serious failures in the struggle against crime as well as instances of overstepping the norms of law.

Intensification of the struggle against violations of socialist legality in administrative organs, it was stated at the conference, is linked in many respects with streamlining crime records. Here it is necessary to have a cast-iron party discipline, insistence on high standards and be imbued with self-criticism toward oneself as well as toward all other directions in the activity of administrative organs.

There is also no noticeable change in the questions of ensuring safety of road traffic. During the first half of the year, more than 1,200 traffic accidents were registered in which nearly 2,000 people were killed and injured. The situation has become complicated on the highways in Aspindzskiy, Dzhavskiy, Galskiy, Gudautskiy, Gurdzhaanskiy, Zestafonskiy, Leninogorskiy, Lanchkhutskiy, Mestiyskiy, Samtredskiy, Sachkherskiy, Terzholskiy, Khashurskiy, Khobskiy, Tsagerskiy, Tskhakayevskiy, Chokhataurskiy and Khuloyskiy rayons, in the cities of Tskhaltubo, Batumi and Marneuli and some other cities.

During 2 days alone--17 and 18 June--20 accidents occurred in the republic, as a result of which 11 people died and 22 people sustained injuries.

A sharp complication of the situation is being observed in motor transportation in Tskhaltubo. This is a result of inconsistency in work with personnel, formalism in planning of preventive measures and belated reaction not only to individual cases of road traffic accidents but to the complication of the operational situation as a whole.

Tskhaltubo is a major health resort zone which requires great attention. It is time to put things in order here, the conference demanded.

The questions of ensuring safety of road traffic have also not been properly solved in Marneulskiy Rayon. Since the beginning of the year, there were 13 accidents here in which 9 people died and 15 people were injured.

Here one becomes alerted by the fact that not a single road traffic accident was discussed by the raykom buro. Instances of agricultural products being carted out beyond the bounds of the republic have become more frequent. In 2 days alone--30 June and 3 July--the posts of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate [GAI] in Dushetskiy Rayon detained 14 motor vehicles owned by residents of Marneulskiy Rayon who attempted to cart out a considerable quantity of agricultural products beyond the bounds of the republic. Among them there were workers, brigade leaders of sovkhoses and even teachers of secondary schools.

Participants in the republic conference have expressed extreme worry over the situation that is developing on the highways of the republic. Most fundamental and urgent measures are necessary. The question is about enlisting in the solution of this problem the party and Komsomol aktiv and all residents of the republic.

The complex of measures should also include strengthening of discipline and legality in the activity of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate itself. It is necessary to improve investigation of criminal cases related to road traffic accidents and ministries and departments must raise insistence on high standards of supervisors of motor transportation enterprises. Questions related to raising the role of the Voluntary Society of Motoring Fans of Georgia and of other public units must be solved.

The practice of ideological support for accident precautions in motor vehicle transportation and creation of an atmosphere of irreconcilability toward any facts of violation of road traffic regulations also requires improvement.

Recently, associates of the Criminal Investigation Administration of the GSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] detained a criminal group, which operated with impunity for a long period of time. According to preliminary data, it had committed 17 larcenies and car thefts. Members of the criminal group are the Shanava brothers, residents of Tsalendzhikhskiy Rayon, as well as Rogava, Tsanava and Kvaratskheliya who over a period of many years lived a parasitic way of life, two of them have been tried earlier for similar crimes, but neither had been in the field of vision of associates of the rayon department of internal affairs so far.

A formal, irresponsible attitude of associates of the militia and silent permissive attitude of those around them, who could not but have noticed the motor vehicles that were constantly changed and the parasitic way of life of these young people, three of whom were members of the Komsomol--all of this brought about unpunished perpetration of crimes during a definite period of time.

The Tsalendzhikhskiy Raykom, which discussed this question, released the chairman of the gorispolkom from the occupied position and punished the chairman of the rayispolkom only after the crime was uncovered. Associates of administrative organs were also severely punished.

Participants in the conference again directed special attention of administrative organs of the republic to the necessity of improving the work style of supervisors of services, administrations and departments of the central administrative machinery and of raising the degree of their influence on the state of affairs in local law protection organs, on efficiency in solving one or another problem in strengthening socialist law and order and on personal involvement of supervisors of administrative organs in uncovering crimes.

Special attention at the conference was devoted to the problems of protecting socialist property. An active struggle for the safety of our national property, its participants stated, is also a sign of the correct style of economic supervision.

At present, in connection with unfavorable weather conditions of the past years, and of this year as well, the tasks of reliable preservation of socialist property in the agro-industrial complex are being advanced with particular acuteness. It is necessary to save the harvest from misappropriations, losses during transportation and storage and destruction by fire. It is necessary to raise the role of the services for combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation [BKhSS] in the struggle against misappropriations, bribery and speculation and to work out concrete measures for raising efficient activity of personnel for combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation and for preventing and timely stopping of criminal encroachments on the national property.

It was stated at the republic conference that instances of fire at national economic installations are causing serious concern. The number of major fires at state and cooperative trade enterprises has increased this year. There was a considerable loss from the fire that occurred on 28 June at the central department store of the Poti City Trade Administration [gortorg]. The republic base of the Gruzkul'ttorg [not further identified] caught fire on the same day and the loss there was also extensive. A fire occurred at the Tbilisi Tea-Weighing Factory on 9 July. On 11 July, kolkhoz fields were damaged by fire and 150 t of straw burned up in the Shirakskaya steppe of Tsiteltskaroytskiy Rayon.

Taking all of these facts into consideration, party, soviet and administrative organs should increase insistence on high standards of economic supervisors, adopt measures aimed at elimination of serious shortcomings in ensuring fire safety and give most principled appraisal of instances where irresponsibility, indifference and negligence are displayed in this matter.

Today, there is also another question on the agenda. It is necessary to carry out constant control over the work of controlling organs themselves, to sum up the results regularly, to ensure maximum effectiveness of measures being adopted and to react strictly to all violations and deviations.

In this sense considerably more must also be expected from corresponding working groups on strengthening law and order and discipline and intensifying the struggle against negative phenomena, which function in all party committees, ministries and departments and which are very effective organs that are able to ensure reaction at the highest level.

The work of such a commission, which functions at the State Committee of Tea Industry [Goskomchayprom], was subjected to sharp criticism. One year ago, the central committee [TsK] appraised its activity as being unsatisfactory. But even this did not compel members of the commission to step up their work--meetings are still being held from time to time and the questions to be discussed as well as periods of their discussion are not being determined in advance. The commission does not devote proper attention to the problems of preventing thefts. They react here only to already known facts and ignore the possibilities of preventing them. Unfortunately, this commission is not an exception.

Special attention was devoted to the struggle against all sort of swindlers and smart operators in the systems of consumer service and trade enterprises.

It is necessary to intensify the struggle against negative phenomena in the law protection organs themselves. Concern for strengthening legality in the organs of militia, office of the public prosecutor and people's courts and clearing them from casual persons who are not worthy of trust--this is one of the main demands of supervisors and members of collegiums of republic administrative organs. This is a question of enormous importance.

It is necessary, the conference stressed, to rely even more broadly in this matter on public opinion: to use it in the interests of the matter.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee systematically studies the opinion of workers. It takes it into account in developing specific practical measures in one or another sphere. However, administrative organs often underestimate the importance of this work and do not study and use public opinion in the struggle for the purity of law protection organs and for strengthening discipline and legality.

The struggle for strengthening and purity of ranks of workers of law protection organs must be waged in a most decisive way and with an unflagging pitch. This is the only way for raising their authority and achieving high final results in the struggle against crime.

Participants in the conference noted that at present--at the peak of the resort season--party and soviet organs, organs of the office of public prosecutor and of internal affairs and transportation organs are faced with the task of not permitting complication of the operational situation and of ensuring reliable protection of public order. It is necessary to organize work in such a manner so as to ensure successful solution of tasks set before law protection organs.

The republic conference, which proceeded in an atmosphere of party business-like manner and fundamental criticism and self-criticism, has demonstrated profound interest in improving the operational situation in the republic and readiness to adopt all necessary measures for preserving and developing positive tendencies, strengthening the struggle against all sort of violations and creating in the republic an exemplary public order and high discipline.

REGIONAL

KAZAKH CP CC BURO ON HEALTH CARE IMPROVEMENTS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "At the Buro of the KaCCP Central Committee"]

[Text] At a regular session the Buro of the KaCP Central Committee considered the question of the work of the Turgay Oblast Party Committee to assure the further improvement of the protection of the public's health. It was noted that the party committees, local Soviets, economic organizations, and therapeutic institutions in the oblast carried out a number of measures to improve the organization of the medical aid for the residents of the villages and cities. The material-technical base of public health received further development. There was an improvement in the work of providing the ideological and political indoctrination of the medical personnel and in raising their level of professional proficiency.

At the same time the opportunities for improving the quality of the medical aid being provided to the public are by no means being implemented completely. The party and Soviet agencies have been moving slowly to eliminate the shortcomings in the activities of the public health agencies and are still showing little concern for creating the normal working and everyday-living conditions for the medical workers. The development of the material-technical base of many therapeutic institutions has been lagging behind in the oblast.

Considering the work of carrying out the further intensification of the protection of people's health to be one of the most important social tasks posed by the 26th party congress, and by the February and April 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the KaCP Central Committee recommended to the party's Turgay Oblast Committee that it raise the level of management of the activity of the public health agencies in organizing the medical aid for the public and to work constantly to improve it for purposes of intensifying the protection of the workers' health.

The KaSSR Ministry of Health has been instructed to direct the activity of the medical institutions to the prompt and efficient carrying out of a series of preventive and therapeutic measures and to provide universal dispensary services for the public.

The oblast executive committee and the KaSSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises, Ministry of Rural Construction, and Ministry of Water Management

have been instructed to take under their constant supervision the questions of constructing public health structures, water supply lines, and other projects intended for social, cultural, and everyday needs.

The Buro of the KaCP Central Committee approved the patriotic initiative of the labor collectives at the Ust-Kamenogorsk Condenser Plant imeni XXV S"yezd KPSS and the Dzhambul Superphosphate Plant, the Pavlodarskiy Traktornyy Zavod imeni V. I. Lenina Production Association, the Bol'shevichka Garment Factory in Kustanay, the Ust-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, and other enterprises in the republic which, following the lead of the Muscovites, extended the socialist competition under the slogan "Let's give the 40th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet nation in the Great Patriotic War 40 shock-labor weeks!"

The party's, oblast, city, and rayon committees, the primary party organizations, the Soviet and trade-union agencies, and the ministries and departments in the republic are required to guarantee the complete support of the initiators of this movement, which is of great importance to the national economy for the successful fulfillment of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the further increase in the effectiveness of production.

The buro considered the results of the republic's socialist competition among the oblasts for the increase in the production and procurement of meat and milk during the second quarter of the current year. The winners were announced and were awarded the challenge Red Banners of the KaCP Central Committee, the KaSSR Council of Ministers, the Kazakh Republic Council of Trade Unions, and the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol. Those winners were Pavlodar and Alma-Ata Oblasts.

Other questions were also discussed.

5075

CSO: 1830/597

REGIONAL

GAPUROV SPEECH AT 17TH TURKMEN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 25 Jul 84 pp 1-2

[Speech under rubric "17th Plenum of the TuCP Central Committee": "Tasks of the Further Improvement of the Work Style and Methods of the Republic's Party Organizations in the Light of the Requirements of the Party's 26th Congress, the Subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Principles and Conclusions Contained in the Statements of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko: Report by First Secretary of the TuCP Central Committee, M. G. Gapurov"]

[Excerpt] All of the activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all the efforts of all the workers in our country, are subordinated today to the struggle to carry out the historic decisions of our party's 26th Congress, the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the conclusions and instructions contained in the statements by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, and the struggle to reinforce our country's economic and defensive might and raise the standard of living for Soviet citizens, M. G. Gapurov said.

The sociopolitical situation in our country is characterized by the further reinforcement of the unity between the party and the nation and by the increase in the guiding role of the CPSU. Therefore, higher and higher demands are being made today with regard to the work level of the party itself and of all its individual links.

Today we are discussing fundamental, vitally important problems in the activity of our republic's party organization. They include, the speaker emphasized, the improvement of the work style and methods; the improvement of the work with cadres; the complete development of the initiative of the working masses; that is, questions that touch upon the chief, decisive areas in which the party exerts an effect upon the development of the economy and culture and upon the indoctrination of people.

The posing of these questions for discussion by the republic's party organization completely conforms to and evolves from the requirements of the February and April 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

In carrying out the decisions of the party's 26th Congress and the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the workers of Turkmenistan, under the

guidance of the republic's party organization, have achieved definite success in fulfilling the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the socialist pledges that were taken.

During the first three years of the five-year plan, the national income produced on the territory of our republic increased by 9.6 percent; the volume of industrial production increased by 7 percent, as compared with 6.5 percent according to plan; and output valued at 261 million rubles was sold in excess of plan.

The average annual volume of production of output in agriculture since the beginning of the current five-year plan increased, as compared with the level in the 10th Five-Year Plan, by 8.8 percent. Provision was made for the outstripping rates of increase in the production of fine-staple varieties of raw cotton, and for major shifts in the development of viticulture. In conformity with the Food Program, animal husbandry has been developing and there has been an increase in the number of head of livestock and in the productivity of all types of livestock and poultry. There has been steady fulfillment of the procurement plans for grain, vegetables, melon crops, and silk cocoons.

The scope of capital construction has increased considerably. The volumes of retail commodity turnover and everyday services provided to the public have increased.

The rates that have been built up are also being maintained during this year of the five-year plan, a year that is a celebration year for our republic. By broadly extending the socialist competition for the worthy meeting of the 60th anniversary of the Turkmen SSR, the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and the centennial of the voluntary entry of Turkmenistan as part of Russia, our republic's workers fulfilled ahead of schedule, on 26 June, the assignment for the first six months for the production of industrial output, by selling output valued at 67 million rubles in excess of plan. The number of lagging enterprises was reduced by almost one-half. Our republic activated the first phase of the Turkmen Nitrogen Fertilizers Plant; the energy unit at the Krasnovodsk TETs; a shop for pure-wool carpet yarn; and a number of other projects. The plan for housing construction was fulfilled. The workers in agriculture fulfilled the year's plans for procurement of cereal grain crops, cocoons, and karakul, and have been guaranteeing rates that are higher than last year's in the procurement of meat, milk, eggs, and wool.

M. G. Gapurov went on to say that we see a tremendous, inexhaustible reserve for improving the situation in each sector of economic and cultural construction primarily in the improvement of the forms and methods of the activity of the party and Soviet agencies and all our cadres.

A model of the creative, thoroughly thought-out, theoretically tested, and politically sound approach to the guidance of the life of the party and of society as a whole, and of the truly Leninist work style, is the multifaceted and fruitful activity of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and its Secretariat.

A specific program for affirming the Leninist work style in all spheres of leadership and administration has been set forth in the decisions of our party's 26th Congress, in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee with regard to the report given by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

Moldavia, and in the works and statements of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko. In the light of the requirements contained in them, our republic is consistently carrying out work to improve the activity of all links of the party and state apparatus.

The party's Ashkhabad City Committee is knowledgeably carrying out the guidance of the city's socioeconomic development. That committee persistently increases the role and responsibility of the party's rayon committees, the primary party organizations, and the Soviet and economic cadres for the job that has been assigned. And this finds its concrete expression in the economic indicators -- for four years in a row, the city of Ashkhabad will be the winner in the All-Union Socialist Competition.

However, the rates for housing and social-cultural construction in the capital have been lagging behind the rapidly growing needs for the intensive development of the economy. It is the overcoming of this lag that is the purpose of the measures that were defined by the recently adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers for the further development of the urban management of Ashkhabad in 1985-1990.

The Ashkhabad City Committee and the rayon committees of the party, and the city executive committee and rayon executive committees must channel all the organizational and political work of the primary party, trade-union, Komsomol, and economic organizations toward the fundamental improvement of the situation in capital construction and the city's municipal management, in order to transform the republic's capital into an exemplary communist city.

A careful approach to the job at hand and the ability to isolate the chief links among the total number of tasks to be resolved distinguish the work style of the Nebit-Dag City Committee, and Leninskiy Rayon Committee in the city of Ashkhabad, and the Khalachskiy, Oktyabr'skiy, and Kushkinskiy Rayon Party Committees.

An important role in this is played by the personal style in the activities of the party's city and rayon committee secretaries.

For a number of years Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon has been seriously lagging behind. In order to reinforce the guidance of the rayon party organization, at the beginning of last year Comrade B. A. Ovezov was recommended and elected as secretary of the rayon party committee. He began his work not by having meetings, as often happens, but by studying the state of affairs on the farms, by becoming acquainted with people locally, by providing cadres to reinforce the lagging sectors. The struggle waged by the rayon party committee against poor business practices and lack of organization was actively supported by public opinion and all the workers in the rayon. As a result the rayon coped with the plans for procurement of the basic types of agricultural output in 1983 and has been maintaining those rates during the current year.

The party organizations at a number of enterprises and kolkhozes in our republic, and many of our economic managers, have been successfully striving for the unity of organizational, ideological-political, and economic work.

After discussing the activity of the republic's party organizations in improving the party-organizational and ideological-indoctrinational work, and the party

leadership of socioeconomic development in the light of the tasks that were posed by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with the Report by the TuCP Central Committee, the speaker remarked that for those purposes the Central Committee and the TuSSR Council of Ministers, and the party and Soviet agencies locally have carried out programs for the development of the most important branches of the national economy: the fuel and energy branch, chemical, mineral-fertilizer industry, light industry, transportation, food, the reinforcement of the base for the construction industry, the construction of branches of enterprises in a number of branches in places with a surplus of labor resources. Comprehensive scientific programs, and programs for the mechanization and automation of production, are being implemented, and the process of introducing new forms of the organization of labor and the providing of incentives for it is under way more and more actively.

At the same time it was emphasized that the departments of the Central Committee, TuSSR Council of Ministers, the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees, the executive committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and the ministries and departments are not making complete use of the available large scientific-production potential or the rich raw-material and labor resources for the accelerated development of the republic's productive forces.

A number of ministries and departments have not been guaranteeing the comprehensive resolution of the questions of developing the branches. The report mentioned, in particular, the unsatisfactory work performed during the current year by the Turkmengasprom All-Union Industrial Association. The association has been repeatedly called to task for lagging behind in the rates of prospecting drilling, and the development of the deposits. It was emphasized that this can threaten the rates of buildup of gas production. However, the leadership of the association (Comrade V. A. Talday) has failed to make the proper conclusions from this criticism.

The Ministry of Light Industry has not been coping with the planned assignments for the five-year plan. During the first three years of the 11th Five-Year Plan there has been a lag in the silk, cotton-fabrics, and leather-footwear branches.

The growth rates for the production of cotton fiber have been lagging substantially behind the increase in the volumes of procurements.

The Ministry of Procurement (Comrade A. Khatamov) and the Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry (Comrade B. Khaidarov), the party committees, and the executive committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies must take steps to establish the proper state procedure in the procurement network and at the plants, and must guarantee their prompt and efficient preparation for the acceptance and processing of the new harvest, and the achievement of the rates that have been planned by the five-year plan.

Our plenum is taking place at a critical period of time, M. G. Gapurov went on to emphasize. The 11th Five-Year Plan is approaching the finish line and the countdown is already in months. In each branch, in each labor collective, it is necessary to introduce the needed adjustments into the organization of the work

in order to assure everywhere that the levels and strenuousness of that work guarantee the unconditional fulfillment of the assignments in the five-year plan.

At the same time the intensification in agricultural production is still proceeding slowly. One of the important areas for increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production, as specified by the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is the upsurge of the economy on the relatively unprofitable farms and the ones that have been operating at a loss. However, that task is being resolved slowly.

Recently there has been a sharp deterioration of the work performed by the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry. An unhealthy situation has developed in the ministry apparatus. Former minister, Comrade S. Annaveliyev failed to provide for the leadership of the branch. The ministry failed to carry out the proper direction of the activities of the oblast agroindustrial associations producing fruits and vegetables.

Because of the serious shortcomings in the work of the Buro of the TuCP Central Committee, Comrade S. Annaveliyev has been relieved from the position that he occupied.

The party's oblast committees, the oblast executive committees, and the TuSSR Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry must, within the near future, completely staff their subordinate organizations with qualified specialists, must increase their demandingness for the observance of labor and technological discipline in all sectors, and must improve the work with cadres.

A matter of serious concern is the state of affairs in capital construction. A ministry that has been working especially unsatisfactorily is the TuSSR Ministry of Construction (N. V. Sheremet'yev). The ministry apparatus and its party organization have been engaging poorly in planning the long-range development of the branch or improving the organization of construction production.

The party and Soviet agencies and the economic managers must take specific steps to introduce strict order and discipline in capital construction, and must increase the demandingness toward the cadres for the fundamental improvement of the situation in that branch.

Under conditions of developed socialism, the major level for increasing the effectiveness and quality of social production is scientific-technical progress, Comrade Gapurov went on to say. However, the measures that guarantee its implementation have consistently not been carried out.

TuSSR Gosplan, TuSSR Academy of Sciences, the republic's ministries and departments, and the party organizations of scientific institutions must take under their strict supervision the questions of the introduction of scientific developments.

The resolution of the large and critically important tasks of guaranteeing the republic's further economic and social development, the speaker emphasized, requires the raising of the level of planning and administration, and the improvement of the entire economic mechanism.

However, TuSSR Gosplan (V. Ye. Abramov) has been carrying out an insufficiently thorough analysis of the status of the republic's economy, and has been insufficiently revealing the unused reserves and capabilities that exist in the branches of material production.

The departments of the Central Committee, and the republic's Council of Ministers, must increase the demandingness toward Gosplan and the ministries and departments for the quality of the plans being developed and for their implementation.

A very important task is the prompt and efficient completion of the work to prepare draft versions of the plan for 1985 and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the Republic in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000.

Then the speaker analyzed the rate of fulfillment of the tasks that were posed by the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. He remarked that in the republic's ideological life there have been positive tendencies. The steps being carried out by the party organizations in various areas of indoctrination and enlightenment have had a favorable effect upon maintaining the ideological-political work, have been making it more time-responsive, and reinforcing the link between the indoctrinational efforts and the practical aspects of organizational and economic work.

The political training of Communist Party and Komsomol members, the economic education of the workers, and mass forms of propaganda and agitation are being coordinated more and more closely with everyday life, with the production affairs of the labor collectives, and they are contributing to raising the level of social and political participation.

At the same time it was emphasized that only the first steps have been taken in implementing the tasks that were posed by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The party's Kalininskiy, Karabekaul'skiy, Kirovskiy, Kerkinskiy, Kizyl-Atrekskiy, Bakhardenskiy, Kunya-Urgenchskiy, and Maryyskiy Rayon Committees, and many primary party organizations and ideological institutions have been slow to reorganize their work.

In the practical work situation one fails to observe everywhere the fulfillment of the requirements of the June Plenum concerning the increase in the role and responsibility of the secretaries of party committees for improving the style and methods of guiding the ideological work, and their personal participation in ideological-indoctrinational work. It was precisely as a result of these shortcomings that the Bureau of the TuCP Central Committee issued an instructional warning to First Secretary of the party's Mary City Committee, Comrade A. Dzhalayev when discussing the question of the guidance of the party training of the city's Communists.

Many workers in the branch departments of the party committees and the Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol agencies, and many economic managers have been devoting insufficient attention to indoctrinational work.

Something else that requires further improvement is the work of providing patriotic, international, and atheistic indoctrination, the speaker emphasized. It

is necessary to improve the individual ideological-indoctrinational work, to carry it out in a comprehensive manner, relating it to other areas of ideological work, and to supplement its content with material of a counter-propaganda nature.

The speaker directed the attention of the party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations to the need to make complete use of the preparation for and the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War for the further intensification of the ideological-indoctrinational work as a whole, the improvement of the patriotic and international indoctrination, and the taking of more definite steps to direct the formation of precise class positions and a high level of political conviction concerning the rightfulness and invincibility of socialism.

The speaker went on to remark that the party and social organizations and the law-enforcement agencies have not been displaying sufficient aggressiveness in combatting negative manifestations.

The national economy incurs substantial losses as a result of the losses that are linked with shortages, misappropriations, figure-juggling, and fraud.

The party committees, the Soviet and law-enforcement agencies, and the administrators of ministries and departments -- primarily in trade, agriculture, rural construction, the cotton-cleaning industry, and local industry -- at the enterprises of which one still observes a considerable number of negative manifestations, must take immediate and effective steps to establish the strictest order in record-keeping and storage, and to close off all channels by which material assets might be misappropriated.

It is necessary, Comrade Gapurov emphasized in this regard, to improve the work forms and methods at the law-enforcement agencies, and to increase the responsibility borne by their administrators and by the primary party organizations. It is necessary to take decisive steps to rid these agencies of persons who have compromised themselves.

It is necessary to take more active steps to mobilize public opinion in the fight against the narrowminded psychology and the consumer approach to life, the fight against all kinds of shirkers, against those who want to grab as much as they can from the government and to get rich at the expense of society. It is necessary to give a decisive rebuff to any manifestations of lack of principles, political shortsightedness, or philistine grumbling, and to carry out a persistent struggle against poor organization of production, poor business practices, or lack of organizational spirit.

The path to the elimination of all the shortcomings that exist, the speaker remarked, lies in the reinforcement of discipline: planning, executive, labor, and technological discipline. It lies in improving the work of the cadres in all sectors of management. The responsibility for this lies, first of all, on the party committees. To a decisive degree it is precisely those committees that determine the precise functioning of such a complicated socioeconomic organism as the oblast, city, or rayon.

The CPSU Central Committee takes a highly principled position in posing the question of increasing the role played by the party committees as agencies of political leadership.

After discussing specific instances in which the party committees usurped the functions of the Soviet and economic agencies, Comrade Gapurov emphasized that, as a result of that, there has been no decrease in the number of letters and statements arriving at the Central Committee which deal with the questions of the distribution of housing, the providing of municipal and personal services, and the operation of public transportation. These are the questions that are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Soviet and economic agencies and that should be resolved by them.

It is necessary to increase the initiative and responsibility borne by the Soviet and economic agencies and by the public organizations for the job assigned to them, rather than having those functions usurped. Unfortunately, instances such as this have not yet been completely eliminated from the practical life of party work.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko has emphasized that the party committees are obliged to proceed from the principle that they are political agencies and they organize the fulfillment of tasks not by means of bypassing the economic and Soviet agencies, but through them. The practice of usurping the role of the economic managers cools the enthusiasm of the cadres. Moreover, it also contains within itself the danger of weakening the role of the party committee as an agency of political leadership. Under any circumstances one must remember: for party committees, engaging in the economy means, first of all, working with people.

Concerned for improving the forms and methods of their work, the speaker emphasized, the party committees must remember that Leninist style does not tolerate formalism, superficiality, or red-tape methods of management.

The entire work style of the party organizations and their administrative agencies must reliably guarantee the strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and the requirements of the CPSU Rules, M. G. Gapurov went on to say. The Central Committee and the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees have been doing a lot to increase the role and combativeness of the primary party organizations, to reinforce the party ranks, and improve the selection, assignment, and indoctrination of the cadres.

At the same time, in these sectors one still encounters serious omissions. More attention must be devoted to the further development of the collective nature of management, and of criticism and self-criticism, and to the increase in the responsibility borne by the Communists and the demandingness toward them.

The meetings in the primary party organizations are frequently of an overly organized nature. Very frequently the reports and statements made by the Communists devote the main attention not to a thorough analysis of the existing shortcomings and unresolved problems, but to the reiteration of what has already been achieved. One must prevent the repetition of those errors during the forthcoming report and election campaign, and must use that campaign for the further increase in the combativeness of the primary party organizations.

The plenums of the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees, the speaker continued, are not always conducted in an atmosphere of an open exchange of opinions or a spirit of criticism and self-criticism.

The Central Committee and the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees must constantly improve the practice of conducting the plenums and buros, and the party meetings, and must increase their role and importance as joint agencies of leadership and develop the democratism of intraparty life.

It is important for every labor collective, every party organization, to create all the necessary conditions for frank criticism from the bottom up, and for free and well-principled exchange of opinions.

The party's Central Committee will continue to take decisive steps to discontinue any manifestations of red-tape methods or any flagrant disregard for critical comments and will continue to punish strictly any officials who are guilty of such attitudes. It is the duty of the administrators of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies to serve as a personal example of a painstaking, genuinely party attitude toward critical warning messages, to render support with regard to the effectiveness of statements in the press, and to give a well-principled evaluation of any instances of ignoring criticism.

In improving the style and methods of party leadership, an exceptionally important place is occupied by the questions of organization and of the verification of execution, Comrade Gapurov went on to emphasize. It must be said that this important sector of work has not yet been properly organized in our republic. Many of the republic and oblast agencies consider supervision over the execution of the decisions that are being made nothing more than the recording of various measures. They carry out that supervision chiefly by means of the request for written reports, rather than by carrying out a personal inspection or the actual organization of an improvement of the situation locally.

Supervision and checking are primarily the organization of execution, a means of preventing shortcomings. The departments of the Central Committee, and the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees must work persistently to improve this very important component part of organizational work.

Our republic, like the country as a whole, is carrying out planned work to increase the responsibility borne by the cadres in all links for the observance of party and state discipline, M. G. Gapurov went on to say.

Under these conditions situations that are especially incoerable are instances of the violation of party ethics and of malfeasance by individual administrative workers in Ashkhabad, Mary, and Tashauz Oblasts, which situations were drawn to the attention of the appropriate party committees in the recently adopted decree of the Buro of the TuCP Central Committee. Only total disregard for supervision and connivance on the part of the party committees can explain the actions taken by individual managers, actions that are incompatible with the principles and norms of party life.

Discussing specific instances of malfeasance by various officials, the speaker emphasized that one of the reasons for this situation lies in the fact that many of the primary party organizations do little to carry out supervision of the activities of the administration when they encounter negative phenomena, especially when they are being manifested by administrative workers. Instead, they behave shyly and fail to display any highly principled attitude. Speaking

about that, the speaker stated that he would like to emphasize that we cannot agree with the practice whereby Communists, especially managers, are given party punishments, bypassing the primary party organizations. The Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out to the party committees the evils of this practice.

However, several of them are still failing to extirpate this practice from their activity. This pertains primarily to Chardzhou City Committee, the Charshanginskiy, Kerkinskiy, Iolotanskiy, Takh-a-Bazarskiy, Kirovskiy, and Bakhardenskiy Rayon party committees, and a number of other party committees.

Nor can one consider to be normal the fact that the party committees and primary party organizations do not give a party evaluation to the actions of the administrators who have been brought to responsibility by superior Soviet and economic agencies.

The departments of the Central Committee and the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees, the speaker emphasized, must intensify the struggle against violators of discipline and party ethics and must be uncompromising with respect to those who take the path of defrauding the government, who abuse their official position, and commit other improper actions. It is necessary, in the life of every party organization, to resurrect the rule: hold every Communist strictly accountable, regardless of what position he occupies, if he has violated the party's Rules or the norms of communist morality.

The party committees must objectively evaluate the activity of the administrative personnel, their strong and weak points; must help them to get rid of their shortcomings; must take more complete consideration, when promoting individuals, of the opinion of the primary party organizations and the labor collectives; and must be bolder in promoting the advanced workers and kolkhoz members to administrative work.

It is necessary to put an end to the insufficiently thought-out reassignments of personnel; to carry out a more thorough study of the on-the-job, political, and moral qualities of the persons who have been put into the promotion reserve; and must preclude even individual instances of protectionism -- the promotion of personnel for reasons of kinship or friendship.

It is necessary to continue to improve the work of training and indoctrinating a personnel reserve. When showing concern for the creation of a true personnel reserve, it is also necessary to render more effective practical assistance in the work situation to those administrators who were recently elected to the party committees, or who headed Soviet and economic agencies.

In all spheres of our republic's economic and cultural construction, women are working actively, Comrade Gapurov went on to say. Recently a large number of them were promoted to administrative party, Soviet, and economic work.

We have repeatedly criticized the Krasnovodsk Oblast party organization for the way it has worked with female personnel. Currently the situation there has been somewhat improved. There has been an increase in the number of women among the secretaries of the party committees, in Soviet work, and among the election activists.

However, in a number of party committees, and particularly in the party's Ashkhabad, Mary, and Chardzhou Oblast Committees, little is still being done to indoctrinate women cadres.

The improvement of work with this category is one of the most important trends in cadre policy. The party committees should promote women more boldly to administrative work and render more help to them in their development.

Something that must be the object of constant concern by the party committees is the improvement of the work style and methods of the public organizations, the speaker went on to emphasize.

The Soviets of People's Deputies can and must engage more, and in a more meaningful manner, in the questions of implementing the Food Program, providing the population with commodities in mass demand, fulfilling the plans for housing and cultural-everyday construction, and improving the personal-services sphere, and in problems of culture and education.

The party committees must penetrate more deeply into the content of the activity of the agencies of people's control and the trade unions, must involve them more actively in the resolution of the tasks to be resolved, must increase their authority, and strive for the intensification of their influence upon all aspects of social life.

The Turkmen Republic Council of Trade Unions must intensify the activity of the trade-union organizations in assuring the further improvement of the work forms and methods. It is important for them, relying upon the principles stated in the Law Governing Labor Collectives, to involve the workers more actively in the struggle for the effectiveness and quality of labor, in the administration of production, and the resolution of social and everyday-living problems.

The basis of the work to improve the style of activity of the Komsomol must be formed from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee for the further improvement of the party guidance of the Komsomol and the increasing of its role in the communist indoctrination of the youth, and the principles contained in the speech by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations.

The party committees and organizations must penetrate constantly and deeply into the social and ideological processes that are occurring in the midst of young people, must thoroughly analyze them, and must help the Komsomol organizations in choosing the basic directions and the most effective forms of work, without at the same time engaging in petty guardianship. The maximum amount of conviction, comradely attention, and practical aid -- that, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized, is the mandatory requirement that is made on the style of the party guidance of the Komsomol.

Not too much time remains, the speaker continued, until that remarkable date that is exciting all of us -- the anniversary of the founding of our republic, the Communist Party, and the voluntary entry of Turkmenistan as part of Russia. In order for this important holiday to be a truly bright and joyous one, it is necessary to guarantee the fulfillment of all the plans for the republic's economic and social development.

The chief attention of the departments of the TuCP Central Committee, the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees, the Soviet and economic agencies, and all the party organizations must be concentrated on increasing the effectiveness of the party guidance of all aspects of the republic's life and the intensification of social production. It is now a matter of making effective use of the existing capabilities, and the motivating force of socialist competition, while improving the work style and methods, in order to promote in every way the mobilization of the Communists and all the rest of the workers for the successful fulfillment of the plans for communist construction.

In conclusion M. G. Gapurov assured the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, that the Communists and all the other workers in our republic will apply all their efforts, experience, and knowledge for the successful fulfillment of the national-economic plans and socialist pledges for 1984 and the five-year plan as a whole, and, by their new labor achievements, will worthily meet the 27th CPSU Congress, the 60th anniversary of the formation of TuSSR and the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and the centennial of the voluntary entry of Turkmenistan as part of Russia.

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CSO: 1830/592

REGIONAL

IMPUNITY LETS UZBEK PRODUCE SPECULATORS ORGANIZE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "At the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, at a regular session, discussed the tasks of the Soviets of People's Deputies in intensifying the fight against speculators in the light of the decisions of the 16th Plenum of the UzCP Central Committee and the 10th Session of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet. It was noted that a reliable protection has not yet been set up against speculation and speculators, and their criminal actions have not been decisively discontinued by the administrators of the Soviet and economic agencies or the workers of the militia, the procurator's office, or the court. Taking advantage of their impunity, the speculators create organized groups, and strive to make an object of profit not only the very scarce commodities and spare parts for motor vehicles, but also products that are in mass daily demand, including foodstuffs. By buying up and reselling large consignments of fruits and vegetables, the speculators attempt to raise the prices. The persons who frequently act as their accomplices are individual workers in state and cooperative trade, motor and rail transport, and civil aviation. The Tashplodovoshch Association is working extremely unsatisfactorily. In the markets of Tashkent, one frequently finds second-hand dealers posing as kolkhoz members or sovkhoz workers. The speculators have a lot of power in Margilan, Namangan, Dzhizak, Karshi, Urgench, and Nukus. In letters and recommendations expressed at unified political days, the republic's workers demand the taking of strict measures against the people who are trying to make an easy profit.

In a decree that was adopted in regard to this question, the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies, their executive committees, permanent commissions, and the agencies of the people's control are assigned specific tasks involving the fundamental intensification of the fight against speculation and its complete eradication. The executive committees of the rayon and city Soviets must introduce more rigid control over the organization of state and cooperative trade and the work of the markets; the appropriate instructions have been assigned to the administrative agencies. The deputies and the broad masses of the workers must be involved in the fight against speculation.

The presidium analyzed the activity of the executive committee of the Khamzinskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, in the city of Tashkent, and ascertained serious shortcomings in the style and methods of its work. The executive committee has not been making a noticeable contribution to the fulfillment of the

plans by the enterprises and organizations, or to the overcoming of the lag wherever it has been allowed to occur. Formalism is being eliminated slowly from everyday practice. People's needs and desires frequently do not find their prompt resolution. Khamzinskiy Rayon, the most industrialized rayon in Tashkent, remains the one that is least provided with the amenities. Not a single housing area has been completely developed. The work style of the executive committee is typified by the shallow working out of the questions, the lack of concreteness of the decisions that are made, and the insufficient number of verifications of the actual state of affairs. In the decree that was adopted with regard to this question, Khamzinskiy Rayon Executive Committee (chairman, Z. T. Novikova) has been instructed to increase its efficiency, organizational spirit, concreteness, and time-responsiveness, to reinforce executive discipline, and to expand the ties with the labor collectives and the workers. The Tashkent City Executive Committee has been instructed to eliminate in 1985 and the 12th Five-Year Plan the disproportions in the social development of Khamzinskiy Rayon.

The presidium considered the results of the checking of the letter written by participant in the Great Patriotic War A. M. Nikitin concerning the casual attitude and irresponsibility of the officials who are to blame for the situation in which the completely unsupervised 120-apartment building that belongs to Glavtashkentstroy is being dismantled and pilfered piece by piece. In this regard, specific instructions have been issued to the Tashkent City Executive Committee and to Glavtashkentstroy. The procurator's office in the city of Tashkent has been instructed to apply the legally established measures to the officials who are to blame for this blatant mismanagement.

The Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet also considered certain other questions of Soviet construction, in regard to which it made the necessary decisions.

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REGIONAL

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE ENRICHES KIRGHIZ

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by B. Oruzbayeva, academician, KiSSR Academy of Sciences, editor in chief of the Kirghiz Soviet Encyclopedia, under rubric "The Language of Friendship and Brotherhood": "The Entire Spectrum of Knowledge"]

[Text] The modern Kirghiz language, under conditions of socialist activity, has become one of the developed literary languages. The prerequisite for this was provided by the creation of its national written basis after the victory of the Great October and the establishment of the Soviet authority in Kirghizia. At the present time it is not only the language of oral, popular creativity, but also of belletristic, political, scientific, and educational literature and the language of the mass-communication media and the stage.

With the development of society there has been a change in the expressive means of language, especially lexical items. One of the ways to enrich the lexicon is the influence that languages exert upon one another as a result of the cultural and economic ties among nations, their communication with one another, their joint activity, and their familiarity with works of literature, art, and printed materials. For the languages of the fraternal nations of our country, the language that has become the basic source of enrichment is the great Russian language, which is a mean of communication among nationalities.

The vocabulary of any modern literary language is characterized not only by the richness of verbal designation, but also its saturation with special terms. This is, as it were, its visiting card. For the lexical embodiment of new concepts, objects, and scientific definitions, every language mobilizes its own internal capabilities -- it gives new interpretations to old words -- and it also borrows new ones and fashions new compound words.

There has been a brilliant manifestation of the favorable influence exerted by the Russian language upon the development of the Kirghiz literary language. In its lexical makeup during the past half-century there has appeared a tremendous quantity of special terms in the sociopolitical, natural-technical, and humanities branches of knowledge. Words such as "revolution," "manifesto," "rationalizer," "dictatorship," "diesel," "economy," "architecture," "cosmodrome," et. became international ones long ago. There is a large number of

expressions that are created by the loan-translation possibilities of the Kirghiz language itself. For example, the extent to which words that have been in the language since time immemorial are being used in new meanings has expanded.

The vocabulary of the Kirghiz language has also been enriched by means of an increase in the number of compound terms based on models in Russian ("dialektikalnyk materializm," "sinkhronnyk kotorom," "proletariat diktaturasy," "mashina synoo stantsiyasy"). It is important to use correctly the entire lexical richness for the broad propagandizing of science, the training of specialists, and the instruction of students, because that determines not only the acceleration of the normalization of the literary language, but also the successful training of highly qualified specialists for the national economy.

When systematizing the terms it is necessary to observe the basic principles of their selection and make the maximum use of the lexical resources of the mother tongue while preserving the international nomenclatures with the broad use of their Russian forms without translation. In the terminological systems that are currently functioning in the Kirghiz language, there are certain shortcomings: incompleteness of encompassment; instances of discrepancy in related branches; and synonym. The progress of the sciences and the improvement of the curricula in the schools and institutions of higher learning are creating the prerequisites for eliminating these shortcomings.

The influence of the Russian language upon Kirghiz can be observed at all lexical levels. Under its direct effect it became possible to work out the most general principles of the national writing system. The lexical designations of the modern Kirghiz language are characterized by structural diversity, and they possess a broad range of meanings. We have already noted that language borrows primarily ready-made words. These include numerous direct borrowings -- designations of concepts that are new for the Kirghiz. One observes a process of phonetic assimilation, and the semantic use of the initial stem with the addition of the language's own grammatical means.

As is well known, the Kirghiz-Russian linguistic contacts began even before the revolution. However, during that period the appearance of direct borrowings was extremely limited. But the postrevolutionary borrowing is characterized both by its subject-matter variety and by the diversity of the ways and means of carrying it out.

The Russian language plays a tremendous role as an intermediary language. The assimilation of words within the confines of the Russian graphic norm contributed to the achievement of standardized variants, to the elimination of linguistic differences, and to the best reinforcement of the terms on the new ground. At the present time it is difficult to encounter an excerpt of text -- belletristic, journalistic, or official -- in which there are no borrowings. But despite that fact, their meaning and the content are comprehensible to us. Foreign borrowings that have enriched the Kirghiz language have become very customary for us. In Kirghiz it has become possible, by using the accessible means, to express new concepts in the field of philosophy, the sociopolitical, natural, and technical sciences, and in the artistic-esthetic area. Confirmation of this is provided by the fact that the language of the periodical press and

special publications is replete with borrowings and has a great diversity of subject matter.

Under the present-day conditions, the functioning of the Russian and the national literary languages is such that the latter accept practically all the scientific-technical nomenclature designations without limitation. Proof of this is provided by the fact that for the first time in the history of the Kirghiz nation, the publication of a general-purpose national encyclopedia has been carried out in the native language. Seventy percent of the content of that encyclopedia is made up of information taken from world science. It also includes articles dealing with 44 modern branches of technology -- such as cybernetics and electronics, instrument building, aviation and space travel, etc. Or take the medical-biological sciences, and the fields of medicine. The content of many of their concepts has been expressed for the first time in Kirghiz in a compact, easily understood manner, on the level of modern scientific understanding.

The new borrowings are becoming the base for entire groups of genetically interrelated lexical-grammatical formations ("kolkhoz" -- "kolkhozchu," "kolkhoz charbasy," "kolkhoz kurulushu," "kolkhozchuluk," "kolkhozdoshuruu," "kolkhozdoshuu," etc.); this is an indicator not only of the quantitative increase in the vocabulary, but also a factor for the renovation and implementation of the inner resources of the borrowing language. Neologisms in our vocabulary are, for the most part, direct borrowings from Russian or represent a lexico-semantic loan translation ("okutuuchu" -- "instructor"; "zhazuuchu" -- "writer"; "tazdatnich" -- "accelerator"; "tangektagych" -- "pickup baler"; "zharym otkorguch" -- "semiconductor"; etc.). And the structural types of compound words have been enriched by affixed words ("tokoy-tundra," "mektep-internat," "vitse-prezident"), and abbreviations (OON [United Nations], BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline]).

Under the influence of the Russian language upon Kirghiz, the methods and means of designating family names and patronymics have been borrowed. The lexical arsenal of our language contains many toponyms. Thus, the vocabulary of the modern Kirghiz language encompasses not only the generally used neutral (including dialectal) aggregate, but also the entire aggregate of borrowings. All this is the result of the new socioeconomic relations, the planned and steady implementation of the Leninist national policy, and the rapid rise in the economy and culture of the entire country and of the fraternal republics.

Lexical borrowing is only one of the manifestations of the reciprocal influence among languages. For the further study and scientific generalization of the results of these processes, both in the theoretical and in the applied aspect, it is necessary, it would seem, to carry out a careful terminological systematization of the special lexicon of the Kirghiz language, which systematization corresponds to the modern level of science -- primarily in the volume of the secondary school. It is necessary to develop precise rules for the assimilation of borrowings, in order to eliminate the discrepancies that occur in the press and in radio and television broadcasts.

Journalists, translators, and editors at publishing houses must be provided with various kinds of practical aids and dictionaries, which must include

all the words (terms) that act as synonyms of old Kirghiz words. Apparently the time has come to prepare card files of borrowings. The importance of systematizing and improving the translation activity was emphasized in the directive documents of the KICP Central Committee. Mention is made not only of improving the quality of the translations of belletristic literature, but also of journalistic and sociopolitical literature.

In order for the translated works to become true models of the modern literary language, and for them to reflect all its uniqueness and wealth, the translators must not only have a thorough knowledge of the laws of grammar and orthography, but must also use the special terms in their correct lexical and graphic forms.

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REGIONAL

LATVIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERS IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 28 Jul 84 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "To Improve Practical Ideological Work. A Meeting in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A republic ideological conference attended by party raykom and gorkom secretaries for ideology and chiefs of propaganda and agitation departments, deputy chairmen of rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms, those in charge of cultural matters, leaders of the republic's mass information media and the representatives of other ideological establishments took place 27 July in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. The question of the course of fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum decisions and the tasks of the republic party organization and ideological establishments in further improving mass political work was considered.

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary B.K. Pugo opened the conference.

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee secretary I.A. Anderson presented a report.

The following took part in the discussions on the report: V.I. Kogut, secretary of the Moskovskiy party raykom in Riga city; Ya.Ya. Brill', director of the Andrupene sovkhos, Kraslavskiy rayon; Ya.P. Britans, editor of the newspaper TZINYA and chairman of the Latvian SSR Union of Journalists; V.Yu. Yanson, director of the Liyesma publishing house; D.P. Sergunina, party committee deputy secretary at the Alfa Association imeni 60-letiya SSSR; L.L. Bartkevich, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Ya.Ya. Peters, poet and publicist; and V.A. Shteynberg, director of the Institute of Philosophy and Law and academic secretary of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Department.

Comrades Ya.Ya. Vagris, V.I. Dmitriyev and A.K. Zitmanis participated in the work of the conference.

It was noted that during the period that has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, the correctness and timeliness of the measures outlined by the party have been confirmed. We are all fully aware of the beneficial

influence exerted by the practical implementation of the plenum instructions on the multifaceted activity of communists and all workers in the republic in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee February and April (1984) plenums, and on the course of fulfillment of planned tasks in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

As is known, in working out the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum the CPSU Central Committee has promulgated a whole series of decrees concerning the various aspects of ideological work and concretizing the tasks of party organizations in terms of the restructuring of this work. These include program decrees on the main directions of the reform of the general educational and vocational school system, and further improvements in party leadership of the Komsomol and enhancing its role in the communist indoctrination of youth.

The important milestones on the way to implementation of the plenum decisions include the decrees "On Further Improving Visual Agitation and Political Posters," and "On Further Improving the Activity of Rayon and City Newspapers," and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Raising the Ideological-Artistic Level of Movies and Strengthening the Material-Technical Base of Cinematography."

Since the June Plenum, through its decrees the Central Committee has also defined a complex of measures in the field of developing counterpropaganda, and in bringing order to the activity of vocal and instrumental groups and raising the ideological-artistic level of their repertoires.

The conference participants stressed that the speeches of CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade K.U. Chernenko are of enormous theoretical and practical value for the party and ideological aktiv, the pedagogic and scientific community, and for the entire cause of communist indoctrination and the forming of the new man.

Recent party documents have substantially enriched the ideological-theoretical arsenal of the party with new decrees, conclusions and appraisals; and combined with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, they have created favorable possibilities for the further activation of ideological and educational work and for filling it with new and more profound content that meets the conditions of mature socialism.

Guided by this, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee is trying as extensively as possible to introduce into the practical activity of the party committees, ideological establishments and economic departments of the republic precisely that approach to the work. All departments of the central committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms have been set the task of comprehensively studying social processes, defining and predicting development trends in these processes, skillfully choosing and applying effective measures in party leadership, and generalizing and disseminating positive experience in this matter.

A Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on questions of further improving style and methods in the activity of the republic party organization

that took place in June of this year summed up the results of work and critically, in a party-minded manner, sharply and in a principled way appraised the shortcomings and omissions in this sphere.

During the year since the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum the party organizations have managed to achieve definite successes in improving the effectiveness of political-indoctrination work, and this has exerted a beneficial effect also on the moral-political atmosphere and on economic affairs in the labor collectives. The results from fulfillment of the half-year plan for our industry and agriculture, in particular, testify to this.

As already reported in the press, the plan for the total volume of sold industrial output during the first half of the year, and also plan targets for the production of most of the very important articles, were fulfilled. Above-plan output worth R85.5 million was sold. It is also positive that by July of this year the number of enterprises failing to meet their contractual obligations had more than halved while the volume of undelivered output had been reduced. Labor productivity for industrial workers also grew substantially. All growth in commodity output was achieved through improved labor productivity.

Workers at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and throughout the agro-industrial complex in the republic worked more strongly during the first half of the year. State purchases of cattle and poultry at all categories of farms rose 20,900 tons compared with the same period last year, while the figures for milk were a rise of almost 65,800 tons, and for eggs, 26.1 million.

In all this the positive trends in insuring the unity of ideological, organizational and economic activity can be clearly seen. Ideological workers have started to probe more deeply into the essence of economic and social problems and to seek out and find their place and specific ways of resolving them. On the other hand, economic workers are recognizing increasingly the significance of indoctrination work and the practical use of the tasks set by the June Plenum, whose essence is expressed in the formula "Ideological Work Is a Matter for the Entire Party."

The party gorkoms and raykoms and the grassroot organizations are working more consistently and purposefully to create an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization and discipline, and to successfully complete the present economic year and the five-year plan as a whole.

Specific practice in improving ideological work was analyzed at the conference. Note was made of the experience gained by the Riga and Valka party raykoms, which have started to develop technology for insuring the unity of educational, organizational and economic activity in the labor collectives; of the Stuchka and Ventspils raykoms, which are resolving problems of ideological backup for labor discipline and the struggle for savings and thrift; and of the Ventspils party gorkom in setting up a counterpropaganda system. The Kraslavskiy party raykom has become a base for working out questions of enhancing the educational role of economic managers.

Orientation on the educational aspects of the activity of labor collectives, primarily the base wings--the production brigades--has become a major factor

in the restructuring of ideological work. In this connection the experience of the Oktyabrskiy party raykom, which has been approved by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, is worthy of attention. The raykom is now working to create a comprehensive, goal-oriented program to further develop the brigade form of labor organization and wages.

The links between ideological work and resolution of socioeconomic problems in the countryside are being strengthened. It is a question of introducing more extensively the experience of the Talsinskiy and other raykoms that were the initiators in the creation of the rayon agro-industrial associations.

While noting what has been done, the conference participants pointed out that the process resulting from the demands of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum now underway has still not fully affected each party committee, each grassroot party organization, and each ideological department and establishment. In this matter there are still shortcomings and omissions and bottlenecks.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation has analyzed decisions and other materials on political-indoctrination work done by a number of party committees, including the Aluksne, Yekabpils, Riga, Daugavpils, Ludza, Yelgava and other party raykoms. Definite positive experience has been gained but there are also problems and shortcomings. Unfortunately, the force of habit and inertia and of earlier views and ideas is being felt. Statements at plenums, aktivs and party conferences made by many secretaries of party organizations and by leaders and specialists do not always deal with the burning problems of ideological work. Sometimes these problems are insufficiently aired and there is no analysis of their practical resolution in the reports of party raykom secretaries. Appraisal of the activity of leaders, and even of entire production collectives, is often made according to the traditional quantitative indicators for economic work, without consideration of the ideological-moral aspects of people's labor and everyday life or of the moral-psychological climate in any given collective.

It cannot be called normal when we speak about the unity of organizational, economic and ideological activity when in practice many party committees are not observing this unity and rarely conduct joint comprehensive studies of questions by several departments of the party raykoms and gorkoms.

Much attention at the conference was given to enhancing the educational role of the labor collectives. In this connection the need to enhance in every possible way the authority of the Law on Labor Collectives was pointed out. An analysis was made of questions of creating a beneficial moral-psychological climate, whose point of departure is people's faith in the correctness and essential resolution of the social and economic problems that worry them, the strengthening of the qualitative makeup of the ideological aktiv, and improvement in the style of work by ideological cadres, establishments and organizations, and other urgent problems.

It was noted at the conference that in fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, the party committees have done considerable work in shaping a system of counterpropaganda. A definite organizational structure

has been created, from the republic council under the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee to the organizers of counterpropaganda in the labor collectives. A training system has been set up for lecturers and ideological cadres engaged in counterpropaganda questions, and for providing them with information. Corresponding structural subdivisions (on a public basis) have been created in the mass information media, cultural establishments and the organizations of the "Znaniye" society. In a number of party gorkoms and raykoms, positive experience has been gained in the organization of counterpropaganda work, and scientific-practical conferences have been held in order to generalize and reinforce this experience.

The party organizations and teaching collectives in the republic's VUZ's are doing useful work in the field of counterpropaganda. The activity of lecturers and propagandists engaged in counterpropaganda questions has been activated, especially in Proletarskiy, Kirovskiy and Oktyabrskiy rayons in Riga, and in the Līepaya, Ventspils, Valmiera, Jelgava, Ogre, Riga, Preiļi and a number of other rayons.

However, counterpropaganda work is not being developed as quickly as the situation demands. No decisive turnabout has yet been made toward improving propaganda of the advantages of socialism and the socialist way of life. The thematic range of lectures on counterpropaganda is narrow, and the trade unions, Komsomol and cultural and educational establishments are inadequately involved in counterpropaganda work.

Dealing with questions of the activity of the mass information media, the conference participants said that they, and first and foremost the newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, LATINFORM and the state television and radio have become more active in throwing light on questions of socialist competition for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the national economic plan for the 11th Five-Year Plan and have enhanced their role in solving the main socioeconomic tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. Book publishing is improving and its material-technical base is being strengthened, and the propagandizing and sale of sociopolitical books has been improved.

There are, however, many unresolved questions. The mass information media should reveal more deeply and comprehensively the work of the party in perfecting developed socialism, the role of the soviets of working people's deputies in improving the management of the economy, and improvements in leadership over ideological and political indoctrination work.

Already today workers in the mass information media should be involved in work on preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and should be fully armed to help party, soviet and economic organs in drawing up the plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan and mobilizing the workers for the successful fulfillment of the 1984 and 1985 tasks. The rayon press should also be having a big say in his great and crucial work.

It was emphasized at the conference that the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum are exerting a major effect on the life and activity of all the artistic intelligentsia in the republic. The practical implementation

of its instructions is beneficially affecting the general climate in the creative unions and collectives and promoting growth in the social and civic responsibility of artists for their own labor and for the content and ideological trends of their creativeness and the educational influence of works of literature and art.

The most significant events in artistic life in recent times have included an exhibition of Latvian Soviet graphic art in Leningrad and Moscow, which received a high appraisal from the critics and the public in these cities, a festival of the art of Soviet Latvia held in Murmansk Oblast, a festival of song and dance by the republic's schoolchildren, and successful tours by artistic collectives from Latvia in the fraternal republics, together with other measures that have taken place with the broad participation of masters of literature and art.

It was noted at the conference, however, that the creative potential of figures of culture is still far from exhausted. They should create more works on the problems that worry today's world, and works that form and instill patriotic and internationalist feelings in our youth, mobilize the spiritual and physical efforts of the people to selfless labor to strengthen the economic and defensive might of the Soviet state, and unmask the antihumanist essence of the policy, morals and ideology of the reactionary forces of the old world, first and foremost the imperialist military clique. The press organs, the Ministry of Culture, state cinema, state television and radio and the creative unions and their party organizations can and must do a great deal here.

The task for the state organs of culture, creative unions and party organizations is through their common efforts to further raise the ideological level and artistic quality of all our literature and art and to reinforce their influence in establishing the moral convictions, world-outlook principles, and the esthetic tastes and demands of the contemporary person.

At the conference much attention was devoted to questions connected with the reform of the general educational and vocational school systems. It was noted that measures to implement this reform in the cities of Riga and Daugavpils and in Kirovskiy, Proletarskiy, Balvskiy, Daugavpilsskiy, Ludzenskiy, Kraslavskiy, Tukumskiy, Valskiy and other rayons and cities are distinguished by their specific nature.

Links and cooperation between rural schools and kolkhozes and sovkhoses are being strengthened. Last year more than 6,000 senior-grade schoolchildren in these schools studied for agricultural professions, and this is making it possible for many of them to work in or continue their studies in their chosen profession after they graduate. In Daugavpilsskiy rayon alone, 84 percent of this year's graduates chose a specialty connected with agricultural production when they started work.

It was stated at the conference, however, that a number of ispolkoms and enterprise, organization and farm chiefs are pursuing a wait-and-see policy in this important matter.

Broader use should be made of the opportunities available to enterprises, sovkhoses, kolkhoses and agro-industrial associations for constructing, maintaining and equipping school premises. Interdepartmental commissions on education should be set up in all ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of working people's deputies for the effective coordination of the activities of all elements of national education and to reinforce practical leadership for the system of general educational and vocational and technical schools.

In delivering the closing address, B.K. Pugo focused attention on the key problems in the restructuring and activation of ideological work, which should be aimed at unconditional fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum and subsequent plenums and the mobilization of the efforts of Soviet Latvia's workers to greet the 27th CPSU Congress in a fitting manner.

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